THE HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN OF SHAH-AULUM
THE PRESENT EMPEROR OF HINDUSTAUN

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE COURT OF DELHI, AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, DURING A PERIOD OF THIRTY-SIX YEARS

INTERSPERSED WITH

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF HINDUSTAUN

WITH AN

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING TRACTS, VIZ.

I. An Account of *Modern Delhi*.

II. A Narrative of the late Revolution at *Rampore, in Rohilcund*, in 1794.

III. Translation of a Letter, written in the *Persian* Language, from the Prince *Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah*, eldest Son of the King of *Delhi*, to his Majesty *George* the Third, King of *Great Britain*, in the Year 1785: with a Copy of the Original.

IV. Translation in Verse of an Elegy written by the King of Delhi after the Loss of his Sight.

By W. FRANCKLIN

Captain in the Honourable East India Company's Service, Bengal Establishment: Member of the Asiatic Society: and Author of a Tour to Persia.

Published by

DR. L. M. BASU, M.B.

PANINI OFFICE, BAHADURGANJ, ALLAHABAD

1934

First impression 1798
Second impression 1915
Latest reprint 1934

Printed by M. C. Das, PRABASI PRESS
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

PREFACE

The work now offered to the public is the result of several years' application, during the author's relaxation from his professional duties, and the avocation of his leisure hours.

An account of the transactions at the court of Delhi during an interesting and eventful period, and the incidents and occurrences which have marked the decline of power of the race of Timoor under the turbulent reign of the ill-fated Shah-Aulum, (in all probability the last of that family who will sit on the throne of Hindostaun) cannot, it is presumed, fail to prove acceptable to a British reader.

A long residence in India has afforded the author frequent opportunities of acquiring much local information; and most of the geographical remarks were obtained by him on the spot, while on a survey, ordered by the Bengal government, through the Doo Ab* and adjacent countries in 1793-4; and on a similar occasion through the province of Rohilcund in 1795-6.

The perusal of the several Persian manuscripts named in the Appendix (page 259) and particularly the Shah Aulum Nameh, (a history of the reign of the present king) written by Gholaum Ali, a learned native, afforded the author ample materials for relating such transactions as took place within the authority and influence of the court at Delhi: and to his friends, on

* A country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

various occasions, he is happy to acknowledge his grateful obligations.

To Major Charles Reynolds, surveyor-general of the Bombay establishment, Mr. Johnstone of Lucknow, Major Kirkpatrick, Colonel Palmer, and Captain Salkeld, of the Bengal establishment, he begs leave to offer his hearty acknowledgements for the readiness with which they supplied him with a variety of interesting documents for the present work.

Such are the materials from which the History of the Reign of Shah Aulum has been compiled; conscious that, notwithstanding the pains and care which have been bestowed on it to attain perfection, numerous errors and inaccuracies may have crept in, the author trusts that the authenticity of the matter it contains, will, in a great measure, counterbalance its defects; and he therefore cheerfully delivers it to the public, with the diffidence naturally attendant on a first attempt in this arduous branch of literature,

LONDON,
Bedford Street, Bedford Square,
March 15, 1798.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I — PAGES

A narrative of the principal occurrences and revolutions of the court of Shahjehanabad from the reign of Mohammad Shah 1-28

CHAPTER II

Shah-Aulum resides at Allahabad—Nejeeb Al Dowla at Delhi—Succinct account of the Marhattas—The Marhattas invite the king to return to Delhi—Negotiations—King sets out—Arrival at Delhi ... 29-39

CHAPTER III

Proceedings against Zabita Khan—The Marhattas refuse to divide the plunder—Nujuff Khan in high favour—He quarrels with the Marhattas—His defeat—Pardoned—Cession of Corah and Allahabad to the Marhattas—Shujaa o Dowla marches against the Marhattas—Marhattas retire to Deccan 40-49

CHAPTER IV

Administration of Nujuff Khan—Conquests in the Jaut country—Rupture betwixt Shujaa o Dowla and the Rohillas—Reduction of Rohilcund—Description of that country—Death of Shujaa o Dowla—Account of the Oude family 50-68

CHAPTER V

Return of the captain-general to Delhi—Accession of Asuf Al Dowla to the Government of Oude—Embassy of Illuj Khan to Delhi—Proceedings against Zabita Khan—Defeat of the king's troops—Zabita Khan unites with the Sikhs—Succinct account of that nation—Occurrences 69-81

CHAPTER VI

Revolt of the Rajah of Jypore—Succinct account of the principalities of Oudipore, Joudpore, Jypore—The king marches to Jypore—Taking of Narnoul and Dhansney—Disgrace of Majd Al Dowla—Death of Prince Furkhunda Bukht—Death and Character of Nujuff Khan 82-102

CHAPTER VII

PAGES

Transactions at court subsequent to the death of Zulficar Al Dowla—Afrasiab Khan appointed minister—Dissensions among the Mogul lords—Elevation of Mirza Shuffee Khan—Intrigues—He is assassinated before Deig—Re-appointment of Afrasiab Khan—Reflections 103-121

CHAPTER VIII

Rise and progress of Madhajee Sindiah, ruler of Malwah, from the establishment of his family in that province until his interference in the politics of the court of Delhi—Intrigues of Afrasiab Khan—His death and character—Sindiah is made prime minister ... 122-137

CHAPTER IX

Occurrences at court—War against Jypore—Intrigues of the Mogul Nobility—Sindiah is defeated—Retires across the Chumbul—Intrigues of Gholaum Caudir Khan—Account of Begum Somroo—Gholaum Caudir Khan besieges the palace—He is repulsed, and pardoned—Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht—Review of his Life—Death and Character 138-167

CHAPTER X

Arrival of Ranah Khan in the Doo Ab—Affairs in the Jypore province—Spirited conduct of Begum Somroo—Occurrences—Ismaeel Beg is defeated—Junction of that chief with Gholaum Caudir Khan—Their Intrigues—Shah-Aulum is dethroned—Occurrences—Conclusion 168-202

APPENDIX I

An account of modern Delhi 203-219

APPENDIX II

A narrative of the late revolution at Rampore, in Rohilcund, in 1794 220-245

APPENDIX III

Translation of a letter, written in the Persian language, from the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, eldest son of the king of Delhi, to his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, written in the year 1785, with a copy of the original ... 246-254

APPENDIX IV

Translation in verse of an elegy written by the king of Delhi after the loss of his sight, with copy of the original 255-258

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR SHAH-AULUM

Chapter I.

A Narrative of the principal Occurrences and Revolutions of the Court of Shahjehanabad from the Reign of Mohammad Shah.

In the last year of the reign of Mohammad Shah (A.D. 1747) Ahmad Shah,* the king of the Abdallees invaded Lahore, which province he claimed by inheritance from Nadir Shah.† Mohammad Shah sent a large army against him under the command of his son Ahmed Shah attended by the vazir Cummer-o'deen Khan, and his son, Mohim ool Moolk. The Abdallee was worsted, and obliged to fly to his own country. Cummer-o'deen being slain in this war, his son, Mohim ool Moolk was left Subahdar of the province of Lahore, and the prince returned to Shahjehanabad. On his arrival at Paneeput,§ he received the news of his father's death, and immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king. He

*. Ahmad Shah Dooranee, or Abdallee; Shahishahan, (or King of Kings).

† By the treaty made between Nadir Shah and Mohammad Shah the former was to possess all the countries lying west of the river Attok, besides the revenues of the provinces of Lahore, Guzerat, Multan, and Cabul, on the other side, which were to be collected by the officers of the Hindustaun court.

§ Forty-two cose, or 85 miles, from Shahjehanabad.

conferred the vizârut on Munsûr Allee Khan, the subahdar of Oude, who constituted Gaziooddeen Khan, buxey of the empire The new king being arrived at the city, gave himself up to his pleasures, leaving the affairs of state to his vazir, who ruled with absolute authority. The nobles, jealous of his power, and displeased with his administration, formed a conspiracy against him, and resolved to raise Intezâm o' Dowla* to the vizarut. The king, who had great cause to be offended at the conduct of his minister towards him, joined in the design. The vazir discovering the storm which was brewing against him, determined to evade it by deposing the king. He accordingly surrounded the palace suddenly with an armed force; but not being able immediately to effect his attempt, Gaziooddeen Khan, who was the leader of the opposition, and had already levied a considerable force, had time to come to the king's rescue. A war ensued, in which, after various success, the vazir was at length worsted, and retired into the country of the Jauts, who were his friends. Intezam o' Dowla was now created vazir in the room of Munsûr Alee Khan; and dreading, perhaps, the growing influence of Gaziooddeen Khan, persuaded the king to accept of the mediation of the Jauts in favour of Munsûr Allee Khan, who sued for pardon. This was accordingly granted him, and a khillut, or dress of honour, with a rookka,† or letter under the privy seal, pardoning his past offences, and confirming him in his

* The youngest son of Camer-o'deen Khan and uncle, by the mother's side, to Gaziooddeen Khan

† When sent by any of the princes, it is called Rukaa.

subaship, was sent to him from the king. Gaziooddeen Khan resenting that the king should take such a step without his concurrence or knowledge, and at a time when he was near reaping the fruits of his successes, exasperated at the vazir for his ingratitude, and with the Jauts for having interfered, resolved upon revenge. Leaving the pursuit of Munsûr Allee Khan, he invaded the country of the Jauts, and subdued them entirely, excepting only a strong fortress which they possessed in the borders of the country adjacent to Akbarabad. As he had no artillery with him, and the place could not be taken without it, unless by famine, Abdul Majeed Khan, one of his officers, was dispatched to Shahjehanabad to request that the royal artillery might be sent him; but the vazir refused to part with it, and shut up all the bullocks and elephants within the walls of the palace to prevent their being seized by force, which was actually intended. Incensed as Gaziooddeen Khan was at this affront, he was not yet in a sufficient capacity to resent it—Malhar Row, a Marhatta chief, being at that time in the country of the Rajpoots, where he had been employed in reducing their Rajah Jeysing, Gaziooddeen Khan invited him to his assistance; which the Marhatta instantly complied with, being (besides the anvantages which must naturally accrue to the Marhatta power from these divisions) strongly urged to take the part of Gaziooddeen Khan, from the hatred which he bore to the Jauts, who had slain his son. He accordingly joined Gaziooddeen Khan with his forces; and a solemn treaty was made between them, Malhar Row swearing to regard Gaziooddeen Khan as

his son, and the latter to look upon the Marhatta as his father. Everything being concerted between them, they began their march towards the capital, and were met in the way by the king and vazir, who gave them battle, and were defeated. The conquerors proceeded to the city, whither the king and the vazir had retired and had shut themselves within the walls of the palace with a few followers, their last, but poor, resource. The chief officers of the city, whom Gaziooddeen Khan's good fortune had made his friends, readily obeyed an order from him to surround the palace till his arrival, when he commanded the wretched king to be deprived of his sight and imprisoned, together with his minister. A prince of the name of Azeezooddeen, being the next in descent of the race of Timur, was taken out of the palace, and proclaimed king by the title of Alumgeer the Second, Gaziooddeen Khan assuming the vizarut. This happened about the month of November 1755.

The new vazir being thoroughly established in his authority, Malhar Row returned to his own country, leaving Junkoojee, one of his generals, and a considerable part of his army, to prevent fresh insurrections, and to collect the revenues assigned as a recompense for his late services.

The king, who was raised to the throne only as an instrument of Gaziooddeen Khan's ambition, was kept by him in a state of the most slavish dependence, being surrounded by the vazir's creatures, and not allowed to stir out without his leave. In order to extricate himself from such a confinement, he privately wrote to the Abdallee, desiring him to come to his assistance. Invita-

tions were sent him at the same time by Munsûr Allee Khan, the Jauts, and the Rohillas. The Abdallee readily embraced an occasion that promised him such evident advantages. An accident happened at the same time that greatly favoured the enterprise. Mohim ool Moolk, the subahdar of Lahore, received a fall from his horse in hunting, which put an end to his life. His begum, a lady of great spirit, had interest enough amongst the chiefs of the province to procure their nomination of her to the subahdarree in the place of her deceased husband.

The affairs of the empire were in this state, when the Abdallee invaded it. The Marhattas were masters of the greatest part of Hindostaun ; a nominal king sat on the throne ; the administration was usurped by a man who derived his influence and establishment entirely from a foreign power ; the chiefs of the empire had already declared their resolution of joining the invader ; and Lahore, the key of Hindostaun, was governed by a woman.

The Abdallee having marched as far as Lahore, summoned the princes to surrender ; and upon her refusal, besieged the place.—After a very gallant defence he at length became master of the city and of the princess's person, whom he treated with great respect, bestowed the highest encomiums on her valour and conduct, as well as on the virtues of her late husband ; and adopting her formally as his daughter, confirmed her in the subahdaree. He left, however, a naib with a small force at the city, and proceeded towards Shahjehanabad. The vazir, unable to cope with such an

adversary, went out with the king and all the nobles and met the Abdallee at Paneeputt, from whence he was conducted in great state to Shahjehanabad.

As soon as he had entered the city, letters were dispatched to all the states of the empire ; and the vakeels residing at the court were all summoned to pay obedience to the King of Kings, and to deliver a tribute suitable to the income of each several province. All obeyed the summons excepting the Jauts, against whom he resolved to turn his arms. Before he left the city, he removed Gaziooddeen Khan from the vizarut ; and leaving the king the choice of his own ministers, that prince constituted his eldest son, Allee Gowher, naib of the empire, a post equal in power to the vizarut, but differing in the name, in respect to the quality of the possessor.

Leaving a garrison for the defence of the city, and officers to collect the revenues, the Abdallee marched out against the Jauts, who were well prepared for his reception. In two engagements (probably not general) the Jauts had the better. Gazioodeen Khan, who attended the camp under a guard of Nassuckchees, represented to the Abdallee, that if he would entrust him with the command of his army, he would answer with his life for the success. It is not related what arguments were used to persuade the Abdallee to accept of a proposal seemingly so chimerical and dangerous. It is said he consented ; and Gazioodneen Khan leading the army, attacked the Jauts with success equal to his promises. It is certain that they were entirely defeated, and obliged to shut themselves up

within the walls of their fortress, and to sue for peace; which, upon their submission, and the payment of a large sum of money, was granted. The Abdallee pleased with the bravery and conduct of Gaziooddeen Khan, resolved to reward his services by restoring him to the vizarut, and wrote to the king his intention, requiring him to comply with it. The king unwilling to displace his own son for the sake of a man whom he hated and feared, remonstrated against such a proceeding. To remonstrate was all he could do, but his haughty patron, disdaining an appearance of opposition to his will, immediatelv sent his Nassuckchees to seize and bring before him the four sons of the king, and seizing the cullumdaun* from Allee-Gowher, gave it to Gaziooddeen Khan. The princes remained with him in the hands of the Nassuckchees. About this time news arrived, that the king of Balkh had invaded the territories of the Abdallee. This obliged him to return home. Leaving therefore Najeeb Khan, the Rohilla, who by his recommendation had been appointed buxey of the Empire, with the charge of collecting his revenues, he departed with his army, and an immense treasure, the fruits of his great successes, He had no sooner passed the frontier of Hindustaun, than Gaziooddeen Khan, who now bacame as absolute as before, of his own authority dissolved the office of collector, which the Abdallee had conferred on Najeeb Khan, and deprived him likewise of the buxey-geree, which post he conferred on Ahmad Khan of the Bungesh race. Najeeb

* The standish, the badge of the vizarut.

Khan, upon this, quitted the court, and retired to his Government at Saharunpore.

The three youngest sons of Aullumgeer, who were enlarged upon the Abdallee's departure, returned to the royal palace; but *Allee Gowher*,* not choosing to put himself in the power of his professed enemy, fled to Jedger, his jagheer, and raised forces to defend himself against any attempt upon his person. The vazir entreated him, with professions of the greatest attachment, to return; and the king was compelled to set his hand to the same invitation; but without effect. At length the vazir solemnly swearing upon the Koran, to attempt nothing against his life and person, he submitted and came back to the city. A house without the walls of the palace was allotted him for his present residence; and the vazir frequently solicited him to go and dwell in the palace with his father and the rest of the royal family. But the prince, knowing that the vazir sought only to get him into his power, evaded the snare by various pretences. This artifice failing, the vazir had recourse to violence, and one morning by day break the prince suddenly found himself surrounded by an armed force. With the few attendants and guards which were about his person he stood upon his defence, and repulsed the first attacks; after which the assailants surrounded the palace, waiting either fresh orders, or succour from the vazir. The prince seeing no hopes but in flight, found means to gain over Mehdee Coolee Khan, who guarded one of the avenues to his palace; and, fighting his way through the other

* The present Emperor.

guards, made his escape out of the city. Eetal Row, a Marhatta general, lay encamped on the opposite bank of the river Jumna. To him the prince fled for protection, and was kindly received, Eetal Row swearing by the water of the Ganges not to betray him, or deliver him up to the vazir.

The Marhatta continued faithful to his engagements: and, notwithstandinng the repeated solicitations of the vazir, kept the prince in his camp five or six months.

At length, fearing either a rupture with the vazir, or that he might attempt to surprise the prince whilst he remained so near, he persuaded him to return to Jedger. The prince saw the necessity of taking such a step, and consented. He was accordingly conducted by a strong escort from the Marhatta to that country. Here he continued a few months; but not judging himself safe in such a situation, he accepted of an invitation from Najeeb Khan, and repaired to him at Sahaurunpore. Najeeb Khan allotted him a monthly income of 50,000 rupees for his expenses; and treated him with all the respect which his birth, and the similarity of their fortunes, naturally demanded from him. He had not forgotten the injury which he suffered from Gazi-ooddeen Khan; and thougt he had now a favourable opportunity to resent it. He accordingly sent letters to Seyed Oolla Khan, Hafiz Rahmut Khan, Doondee Khan, and the other Rohilla chiefs, to Rajah Soorujmul, the chief of the Jauts, and Shujaa o Dowla; inviting them to join him in redressing the cause of the injured prince, and freeing the king from the tyranny of the vazir; but the dread of the Marhattas obliged them to decline en-

gaging in so dangerous a scheme. Frustrated in his designs and unable to maintain the prince any longer, or to protect him against the vazir, who was actually preparing to send a Marhatta army against him, Najeeb Khan persuaded him to seek for refuge with the nabob Shujaa o Dowla. In consequence of his advice the prince, after a twelve months' residence with Najeeb Khan, took leave of him, and marched with a slender train to Lucknow. He was received by Shujaa o Dowla with the greatest honours and presented with elephants, horses, tents, and all manner of necessaries suitable to his state, with a present (a nazarana) of 3 lacks of rupees. The power of the vazir was too firmly established and the Marhatta name too formidable, to admit of the nabob's assisting the prince openly, unsupported as he must be by any other power. To entertain him at his court could answer no end, and must necessarily draw upon himself the resentment of the vazir. All the service he could afford him was to support him privately and wait a fitter opportunity to act more publicly in his favour. The best expedient, therefore, that immediately occurred, and which promised the surest success, was to attempt the conquest of Bengal. All appearances concurred to favour such a design. The province of Bahar belonged to him as the lawful Subahdar, a prescriptive right of the eldest son of the king. Jaffer Allee Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal and actual governor of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had been raised to that dignity by the assistance of the English, by whose influence alone he continued to possess it. His government was generally disliked.

His behaviour had drawn on him the hatred of the greatest part of the country. His Jamadars, most of whom were once his equals, could not brook the distance with which they were now treated, and were equally obnoxious to him from the little respect which they put on in their behaviour to him. The Sepoys, a numerous rabble, were in arrears even from the pay due to them in the time of Seraj-ud-Dowla : the Zemindars of both provinces were ready for a revolt whenever they could do it with safety ; and had already appeared in arms against the Nabob in that of Bahar, the revenues of which were insufficient to defray its own current expenses. With these advantages a more powerful argument yet concurred, which was, the name of the prince, and the veneration which the person of the heir-apparent of the empire naturally drew from the subjects of so despotic a state ; and which was now heightened by his distresses. The conquest of those provinces being thus ensured, would facilitate the attainment of his grand object, the freedom of his father, and the security of his own right to the succession, by the acquisition of so great a revenue, the increase of his force, and the influence this success would give to his name.

Everything being concerted for effecting this enterprise, Shujaa o Dowla assisted him with a party of his own forces, under the command of his kinsman, Mahmud Coolly Khan, the Subahdar of Allahabad. The prince solemnly swore to bestow the vizarut upon Shujaa o Dowla, whenever he came to the throne, as a reward for his loyalty, and departed.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1758, the prince crossed the Currumnassa,* and entered the province of Bahar; where he was soon joined by a number of malcontents, and the disbanded Seapoys of Jaffer Allee Khan. The success of his first attempt is too well known to need a particular relation. Repulsed in his attacks upon the city of Patna, and not daring to stand the approach of Colonel Clive, whose name, and the rapidity with which he marched to meet the prince, already seemed to denounce his certain defeat, he retired with precipitation back to the province of Allahabad; whither it was deemed, in the then-unsettled situation of the Nabob's affairs, imprudent to follow him, as a rupture in that case must unavoidably have ensued with Shujaa o Dowla. After this disappointment, he made a proposal of throwing himself upon the protection of the English; which was rejected. He therefore remained at Mukkunpoor, on the borders of the province of Allahabad, forsaken by most of his followers, and waiting, without any determined plan, for what a better fortune should throw in his way.

Whilst the prince was pursuing his projects in Bengal, a storm broke out which threatened to overwhelm his ancient friend and protector, Najeeb Khan, against whom the vazir sent Junkoojee, the Marhatta general, with a large force. At the same time, Dettajee Toppul, another Marhatta chief, was detached against Lahore, which he reduced, and drove the Abdallee's Naib out of the country.—Najeeb Khan, finding himself

* A river which divides the province of Bahar from the Zemindaree of Benares.

incapable of any long opposition against so formidable an enemy, called his old allies, Shujaa o Dowla and the Rohilla chiefs, to his assistance; and, at the same time, solicited the Abdallee to return; who was likewise invited by the other leaders of the same party.

Before his allies could join him, the Marhattas had entered his country. He met them, and gained some inconsiderable advantages over them, sufficient however to gain time till he was strengthened by the junction of his friends, who were already on their march towards him. Junkoojee, fearing lest his enemies should be too powerful for him, and hearing of the arrival of the Abdallee at Lahore, sent advice to the vazir of his situation, and desired him to come to his assistance. The vazir replied, that he was unable to obey the summons, having no forces with him sufficient to be of any service, nor money to levy other. Junkoojee immediately sent him five lacks, with which the vazir now assembled his people together, and prepared to take the field.

Fearing to leave the king behind him at the city and suspecting that he had leagued with his enemies, and intended to restore Intezam o Dowla in his absence, he desired the king to accompany him on the expedition which he refused; and the vazir in consequence resolved to rid himself at once of his fears by putting him to death. This bloody resolution being taken, he affected to be satisfied with the king's excuses, marched out of the city and encamped a few coses beyond it; where he waited the execution of his plot, which was effected in the following manner:

Ballabass Row, an emissary of the vazir, went to the

king, and informed him that a fakeer of great sanctity had taken up his quarters at the tower of Feroz Shah; and partly by persuasion and partly by force, carried the deluded king to see him, and in the way caused him to be murdered. The vazir having thus accomplished his execrable design, ordered the palace to be plundered, and the sons and relations of the deceased monarch to be stripped of all their jewels, which were converted into money for his urgent necessities. Mehdee Collee Khan and Khaja Bussent were left with the charge of the kella, or fort. The former, by the directions of his master, took a grandson of Cambuksh, the youngest son of Aurengzeeb, out of the palace, and proclaimed him king, by the name of Shahjehan the Second.

The vazir now proceeded towards Junkoojee, and joined him about the same time that Najeeb Khan's Rohilla allies were arrived to his assistance; and Najeeb Khan reached the borders of Najeeb Khan's country, where he met with a detachment of Marhattas that had been sent round to cut off the supplies of provisions coming to the Rohilla camp, and put them to the rout. After this, he proposed an accommodation between the contending parties; and a negotiation ensued, which he contrived to protract till the Abdallee were advanced as near as Paneeputt, when the vazir was obliged to march back with precipitation to prevent their seizing the city; and Shujaa o Dowla, who thought his presence no longer necessary, returned to his province. The vazir caused a strong entrenchment to be thrown across the road leading from Paneeputt to Shahjehanabad, and encamped behind it, waiting the

approach of the enemy. In the meantime Dettajee Toppul, whom the Abdallee had lately driven from Lahore, was detached with part of the army to obstruct the enemy's march, and fell in with the van, commanded by Jehan Khan, by whom he was attacked, and his army routed, himself being slain in the fight. Jehan Khan continued his march, whilst the Abdallee, quitting the direct road by the advice of Najeeb Khan, turned off to the left, in order to favour the junction of the Rahillas, who were hastening to him through the defiles of Coonjpoora. Then passing by the vazir, he suddenly arrived at the capital, of which he took possession without opposition.

The vazir, intimidated by this unexpected stroke, durst not stand the enemy, but fled to Akbarabad. The Abdallee, leaving Yacoob Allee Khan to command in the city, and to put a stop to the disorders committed there by his people, pursued the vazir and cut to pieces many of the Marhattas and Mogul troops in their flight.—From Akbarabad the vazir fled to the Jauts, with whom he had made peace a little before the entrance of the Abdallee. The conquering army continued the pursuit to that city and, taking possession of it, halted there. The vazir ana Junkoojee sent advices of the unhappy turn of their affairs to Malhar Row, and entreated him to come to their relief ; he instantly obeyed the summons, and marched to them. During this time Abdallee having recruited his people, left Akbarabad, and advanced towards the enemy, who declined coming to action, and shut themselves within a strong fortress belonging to the Jauts.

Notwithstanding the expected union of Malhar Row, the vazir saw that he should still be in little capacity of withstanding the power of the Abdallee. He, therefore, sent a vakeel to the Rohillas to desire their mediation with the Abdallee for obtaining a peace; and, if they approved of the motion, that Hafiz Rahmut Khan might come and settle the conditions. The Rohillas consented, and sent Hafiz Rahmut Khan to the vazir. The demands of the Abdallee were limited to two krore* of rupees, which the vazir consented to pay, offering to give thirty lacks upon the spot, and assignments on the country for the remainder. At this interval Malhar Row arrived and annulled the treaty. Both armies therefore prepared to renew the war. The vazir continued in the fortress, and the Marhattas marched out to meet the Abdallee.—Malhar Row commanded the van of the former, Jehan Khan led on the latter. They met; the Marhattas were defeated, and fled to Jeypore, a country of Rajpoots, governed by Raja Jeysing; the vazir followed.

The season being far advanced, and the Abdallees, used to a more northern climate, being unable to sustain the severe heats which now came on, the army returned to Annoopshehr, a place on the borders of Najeeb Khan's territories, and not far distant from the capital, where quarters were provided for them by Najeeb Khan, on the north-east side of the Jumna. On their way, they besieged the fort of Sabitgarh, and took it.

From Annoopshehr the Abdallee sent his Nassuckchees with letters to Allee Gowher and Shujaa o Dowla, offering the throne to the former, and the vizarut to

* Two million sterling.

the latter. They arrived first with Shujaa o Dowla, who dismissed them with letters of his own to the prince, pressing him to seize the occasion, and return to Hindostaun.

This prince had, notwithstanding his defeat last year, thought himself in a capacity thus to renew his attempts upon the province of Bahar; and being invited by Camgar Khan, the Zemindar of Mey, who had lately escaped from imprisonment, and other malcontents, advanced as far as Sasseram, when he heard of his father's tragical end. He immediately caused a throne to be made, and assumed the imperial dignity, taking upon him the name of Shah-Aulum. He wrote to all the potentates of the empire, requiring them to acknowledge his title; and sent a khillut for the vizarut to Shujaa o Dowla. That Nabob accepted of the honours conferred upon him, struck coins in the name of Shah-Aulum, and wrote to the Abdallee and the Rohillas in behalf of the new king.

Soon after the Nassuckchees arrived at the prince's camp with the letters from the Abdallee and Shujaa o Dowla. He returned a suitable answer to the former; and to the latter he replied, that after the reduction of Bahar and Bengal, he would return to take possession of the throne; but that he would never depart till he had wiped off the disgrace which his honour had suffered in those provinces.

Shujaa o Dowla, who waited only to learn the prince's resolutions, as soon as he had received his answer, left him to prosecute his designs on Bengal, and set out with his forces for the camp of the Abdallee, who had sent him repeated summons to attend him. As soon as he was

near Annoopshehr, the Abdallee sent forward his own vazir to meet him, and bring him in state to the camp; where he was received as the vazir of the new king, and presented in person with a khillut for that purpose.

Malhar Row, after his defeat, had written to Ballajee, representing the necessity of his coming himself in person, or sending a large army to retrieve the Marhatta power in Hindostaun. Ballajee was then at war with Salabut Jung, the subahdar of Deccan, whom he had reduced to great distress. But upon the news of Malhar's ill-success, he accepted of a composition from Salabut Jung, who ceded to him a considerable part of the province of Aurungabad; and a peace was concluded between them.

Ballajee being now at liberty to pursue the war with greater vigour in Hindostaun, raised a vast army of 100,000 men, and sent it under the command of his own son, Bisswass Row. His illegitimate brother, Shamsheer Bahader, Sedashew Row, Ibraheem Khan Gardee, Antajee Mankeser, Appajee, Jeyajee, and Rogojee, were the principal men that attended Bisswass Row. They proceeded directly to the country of the Jauts, and were met by the vazir, Malhar, and the Jauts, on the banks of the river Beea. The river Jumna, which lay between the two armies, being swelled to a great height by the rains they were obliged on each side to remain inactive.

During this interval Bisswass Row proposed to the Abdallee a peace upon the same conditions which were formerly made with Nadir Shah. The Abdallee rejected

these offers with disdain, and on his part demanded that the Marhattas, whom he reproachfully styled the Zemindars of Deccan, should return to their own territories, nor advance beyond the river Nerbudda, which was to be the boundary of their jurisdiction : that his own power should extend as far as Paneeputt and Carnal : and that the revenues of the empire should be collected by the officers of the crown, who should duly pay the Marhattas their chout ; in the collection of which the Marhattas should have no concern. As neither side would recede from their own conditions, the negotiations had no other effect than to take up the time which they could not make use of to a better advantage.

The city of Shahjehanabad was still in the hands of Yacoob Allee Khan, the governor left in it by the Abdallee with only 2,000 men, of which about 500 were Abdallees. Bisswass Row no sooner learnt the weak state of the garrison, than he besieged the city, of which he soon became mastêr, and dismissed Yacoob Allee Khan, without any other injury than stripping him and his people of their effects. He was no sooner master of the city, than he dispossessed all the officers appointed by the vazir, and treated him with so much neglect, that he left the army in disgust, and encamped with a few followers at Carna-pahree, about two coses from the Marhatta camp.

It is probable that at this time they had entered into private engagements with Shujaa o Dowla, to acknowledge him as vazir. He arrived shortly after at the camp of the Abdallee ; who, by the advice of the Rohillas, sent him to the Marhattas with fresh proposals of peace ;

and the Jauts were desired to act as mediators. He was received in the character of vazir, and with marks of friendship, by Bisswass Row; who immediately dismissed Rajah Dileer Sing, Gaziooddeen Khan's vakeel, from his presence and from the camps—Gaziooddeen Khan being thus rejected by all parties, and deprived of all hopes of redress, retired into the country of the Jauts, who afforded him a subsistence.

The particulars of the negotiation carried on by Shujaa o Dowla are not well known. Two months were consumed in various conferences, without any nearer prospect of peace. It appears, however, that he was not altogether idle, from what passed during this interval. Each of the powers that sided with the Abdallee were guided by their own separate interests. In one thing they all concurred, which was an universal enmity to Gaziooddeen Khan. Besides this, Shujaa o Dowla had other material points in view, the success of the cause in which he had engaged with the prince Allee Gowher, and his own confirmation in the vazarut. Gaziooddeen Khan was already removed. The prince's title was publicly acknowledged by the Abdallee: nothing was wanting to establish his authority but the concurrence of the Marhattas. To obtain this seems to have been the business of Shujaa o Dowla's private conferences with the Marhattas. The result was, that Bisswass Row declared Allee Gowher king, and placed his son on the koorsee,* as regent of the empire, during his father's absence. One condition on which this appointment

* A chair of state.

was made was a present of five lacks to Bisswass Row, for which the mother of the young prince gave her jewels in pledge to the Marhattas. This step could not but alarm the Abdallee, who was incensed against Shujaa o Dowla as the promoter of it. Another circumstance which happened presently after, served to add to his suspicion of Shujaa o Dowla. Coonjpoora is a strong fortified city belonging to the Rohillas, situated about seven days journey to the north-west of Shahjehanabad. Abdoossummud Khan, the Foujdar of Paneeputt, resided here on the part of the Abdallee, and Kootub Khan on that of the Rohillas. The Marhattas marched against this place, intending to besiege it, and were met by Abdoossummud Khan, and Kootub Khan, who gave them battle, but were defeated and retreated to the city. The Marhattas, without allowing them time to recover from the effects of their defeat, entered the place by storm, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword, and became masters of the city, wherein was found an immense booty. The two chiefs were taken prisoners, and sent to Bisswass Row, who slew Abdoossummut Khan, and imprisoned the Rohilla. The Abdallee no sooner heard of this loss, than he flew into the most violent rage. The river which was still very high preventing him from attacking his enemies, he vented his resentment on Shujaa o Dowla, whom he accused as a traitor and an incendiary, and commanded him to depart from his army. By the intercession of the Rohillas, he was soon prevailed upon to pardon and recall him ; but as his fidelity was still suspected, he would not suffer him to encamp within his

lines. The loss of a place of so much consequence, and the mortification of seeing his enemy carry on his successes with impunity, determined him upon immediate revenge. He mounted his elephant, and rode directly into the river, resolved to discover if possible some part where it was fordable ; but the water, wherever he attempted a passage, rose higher than the elevated trunk of the elephant. Impatient of longer delay, he commanded his army to follow him, and pushing into the midst of the stream, he swam over to the opposite bank. His troops, animated by the example of their leader, did the same, and in a few hours the whole army was safely landed on the other side of the river, with very little loss, which fell chiefly to the share of Shujaa o Dowla.

As soon as he had ranged his forces in order, he marched without delay to the capital, hoping to seize it before the Marhattas could arrive to its relief ; but he found it so well garrisoned, that, having no artillery, he was obliged to desist from the attempt, and turn his attention towards Bisswass Row, who was advancing towards him. They met, and the Marhattas were defeated. It does not appear that this engagement was very decisive. Some accounts even make it terminate in favour of the Marhattas ; but this is hardly probable. From this period nothing of consequence happened till the beginning of January. Both armies continued in their encampment. The Abdallee at Sehaleh, four coses east of Paneeputt, and the Marhattas at Segher, close to Paneeputt. About the month of December, a reinforcement of 15,000 men joined the Abdallee, and the

Marhattas received a supply of treasure, said to be thirty-seven lacks, conducted by an escort of 8,000 men from Deccan. The Marhattas were now so much inferior to the Abdallee and his allies, that they durst not stir from their camp, but kept themselves confined within a strong entrenchment ; whilst the Abdallee remained master of the country round them, and cut off all their supplies of provisions.

Deleel Khan Rohilla, the Zamindar of Coonjpoora, the capital of which still remained in possession of the Marhattas, marched into that country, and sacked all the villages, from whence the enemy might receive any supplies ; whilst other detachments committed the like ravages in other parts ; the Marhattas all the time lying inactive, not daring to oppose them. They were at length reduced to the greatest straits ; their provision was wholly consumed, and the people and cattle daily wasting away by famine. In this distress, which every day rendered more deplorable, Bisswass Row assembled the chiefs, and it was unanimously resolved to trust to the desperate hazard of a battle, rather than thus to perish by hunger. This being determined on, the whole army marched out of the entrenchments, and on the morning of the 14th of January advanced towards the enemy. They were now within two coses of the camp of the Abdallee, when he marched out to receive them. When both armies came in sight of each other, they cannonaded one another till towards noon, when they came to close engagement with their battle-axes. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy and various success, till towards the close of the day,

when the advantage seemed to be on the side of the Marhattas, who had penetrated even to the Abdallee's camp. At this juncture, a body of Fackeers in the service of Shujaa o Dowla rushed in amongst the foremost of the Marhattas with such intrepidity and success, as gave a turn to the battle. The Marhattas, unable to withstand so fierce a conflict, gave back. The assailants pursued their success, and soon after the rout became universal. Many thousands of the Marhattas were slain in the fight, and in the pursuit, which was continued the next day ; and the rest, dispersed about the country, were massacred and plundered by the Zemindars, or escaped and joined by degrees their several commanders. Shamsheer Bahadur and Ibraheem Khan Gardee, with most of his people, being on foot, were slain. Shedashew-Row, the principal officer under Bisswass Row, poisoned his women to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror, and fled towards Narnowl in the road to Deccan. Bisswass Row, Malhar Row, Junkojee, and other chiefs of note, are said to have been amongst the slain ; but this is not certain. All accounts concur in representing the Abdallee's victory as complete. Shujaa o Dowla, to whose bravery and conduct the success was chiefly owing, was honoured by the Abdallee with most signal marks of his approbation. That monarch embraced him after the battle, styled him in form his son, and caused the victory to be proclaimed and registered in his name. On the 16th of January, by the command of the Abdallee, proper officers were sent by Shujaa o Dowla and Najeeb Khan to take possession of the Marhatta Camp at Segher, and to take an account of

the plunder, which was invaluable, consisting of the whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, and other cattle and baggage, with a vast treasure.

Naroo Sanker, the Marhatta governor of Shahjehanabad, fled the day after the action towards Akbarabad, with all his effects and treasure ; the latter of which must have been very considerable, as his government had been a continued scene of rapine and extortion. It is said, that he was stopped in the way by order of Soorujmul the Jaut, stripped of all his ill-gotten wealth, and left to pursue his journey, in equal distress and terror, to Akbarabad. The next day, a detachment sent by Shujaa o Dowla entered the city, and took possession of the place ; and Jehan Khan, the former Subahdar, who had gained the affections of the people by his moderate and just administration, was expected there shortly in the same capacity. On the 16th, Mirza Bawber, the son of Allee Gowher, rode out, attended by his court, to visit the Abdallee, and congratulate him on his victory.

It will be proper now to take a short sketch of the affairs of Bengal. The prince assembled an immense army, defeated Raja Ram Narain, who then commanded the forces of Jaffer Ali Khan in Behar ; but was soon after attacked and worsted by the young Nabob and Major Caillaud. By the advice of Camgar Khan, he suddenly passed by the young Nabob, and entered the province of Bengal by the passes of the mountains ; but was so closely pursued, that despairing of success, he returned by the same road, and without losing time laid close siege to Patna, which was gallantly defended by

the English garrison, till the arrival of Captain Knox with a detachment of Europeans and Seapoys, who relieved it. The prince immediately raised the siege and retired to Tekari, where he passed the raios. The young Nawab and Major Caillaud arrived soon after. Sometime was spent in the pursuit of Khadim Hussain Khan, Naib of Purnea, who had sided with the prince. But the campaign was put an end to sooner than was intended by the sudden death of the young Nabob who was struck by lightening. The troops took up their quarters in Patna. In the month of October the Nabob Jaffer Ali Khan resigned his government to his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Khan, and retired to Calcutta.

After the rains, the two armies again took the field. A treaty of peace was set on foot; but broke off through the means of Camgar Khan. At length, Major Carnac, who commanded the English forces, marched against the prince on the 15th of January, and attacked and beat him, taking M. Law and the French party prisoners. He pursued the prince very closely for some days, till the latter found himself so straitened, that he offered to throw himself upon the protection of the English, which was accepted; and on the 8th of January he joined the English camp, and proceeded with them to Patna.

The province of Allahabad, including the district of Corah, estimated at the yearly revenue of twenty-two lacks of rupees was assigned him in guarantee by the Company; and, in addition, to render his establishment splendid, the British governor, on behalf of the Company agreed to pay into his majesty's treasury the annual

sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees from the revenues of Bengal.—In return for these concessions, Shah-Aulum directed a firmaun to be made out, constituting the English East India Company perpetual Dewaun of the rich and fertile provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, affording a revenue of three millions sterling.

The city of Allahabad was selected for his majesty's residence, where he kept his court in great splendour.

The provision thus made for Shah-Aulum was certainly ample, and the terms dictated by a spirit of consistent liberality.

Surrounded by his most faithful servants, in the bosom of his family, and under the generous safeguard of the British nation, had Shah-Aulum properly appreciated his situation, he might no doubt have passed the remainder of his days in tranquillity and comfort.

It would appear, however, that this prince's disposition and capacity has been imperfectly understood by his contemporaries.—The early part of his life had been active and enterprising; and his conduct in extricating himself from the violence of Gazioddeen exhibited a spirit of great gallantry and energy of mind. But weak, effeminate, and irresolute, he suffered himself to be wholly ruled by the will of others. Though apparently satisfied in his exterior beheaviour, Shah-Aulum, even from the moment of his settlement at Allahabad, sighed in secret for the pleasures of the capital, and was ambitious of re-ascending the throne of his ancestors; under this impression, he unhappily suffered himself to be buoyed up by the promises of the Marhatta chiefs, and by the unworthy advice of his

own counsellors, who, big with the hope of ruling with uncontrolled sway, urged their sovereign to throw off this dependence on the English, assert his own rights, and march to Delhi.

Accordingly, after an unquiet residence of five years at Allahabad, the Emperor ventured on an ill-judged rash experiment, which proved a source of incessant misfortune to himself and family; and which the woeful experience of twenty-six years of anxiety, sorrow, and trouble, has but too fatally demonstrated.

Not, however, to anticipate the series of events detailed in the following volume, we proceed to relate the particular circumstances that gave rise to this extraordinary resolution of Shah-Aulum.*

* As ample details of the transactions, from the decease of Mohmmad Shah until 1765, have been given by Colonel Dow and Captain Jonathan Scott, the author has deemed it eligible to treat of those events with brevity.



SHAH AULUM

CHAPTER II

Shah-Aulum resides at Allahabad—Najeeb Al Dowlah at Delhi—Succinct Account of the Marhattas—The Marhattas invite the King to return to Delhi—Negotiations—King sets out—Arrival at Delhi.

Shah-Aulum, thus eligibly situated, in the bosom of his family and surrounded by some of his most faithful servants, might now have secured himself a safe and honourable asylum for the remainder of his days. But it was the misfortune of this prince to be swayed by the counsels of designing persons, who, on the king's return to his capital, foresaw a renewal of their own consequence, and an opportunity afforded for the gratification of their ambitious views.

Buoyed up by the flattering prospect of ascending the throne of Timour, and enjoying the luxury and splendour of the capital, Shah-Aulum was persuaded to listen to the overtures which, about this time, were made him by the Marhatta nation. The power of this nation, though slowly recovering from the effects of the fatal defeat at Paneeputt, was still formidable. Their dominions, in 1770, were bounded on the west by the country of the Rathore Rajpoots ; and to south-west, including the fertile province of Guzerat, extended to the Indian ocean. Their eastern confine touched the extremity of Behar and the Cuttack province, bounded on that side by the Soobarnrekha.* On the north by

* A river which divides Bengal from the Cuttack province.

the Chumbul, a large and majestic river which rises in the central parts of the Rathore mountains, and, after traversing some of the most fertile parts of Hindostaun, discharges itself into the Jumna on the confines of Vindya.

Within this widely-extended circuit were included the ancient kingdoms of Baglana and Beejapore, acquired by the valour of Sivajee, founder of the empire, the provinces of Berar and Bundelcund, Malwah, Candeish, and Guzerat.

Poonah, a large and opulent, but unfortified, city, distant 100 miles north of Bombay, is the present capital of the Marhatta nation.

In the latter years of the reign of Shah Jehan, Sivaji a noble Marhatta, who drew his lineage from the ancient sovereigns of Deccan, laid the foundation of his country's grandeur. Through a series of bold operations, attended by uncommon success, he baffled every attempt of the great Aurangzeeb to depress his power ; and, during the reign of that prince, he enlarged and extended his territory ; and died in the plentitude of his power and sovereign sway over some of the richest provinces in Deccan.* His son and successor, Sambajee, was weak and dissolute ; but Rajah Sahoo, the third of the family, enjoyed a long and successful reign. Under his auspices the Marhatta leaders, issuing

* In this brief detail of the Marhatta states, the author has principally followed the interesting reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the First and Second Marhatta wars. Mr. Orme's valuable historical fragments have also been consulted occasionally.

from their strongholds in the mountains, descended into the plains of Hindostaun ; and by a succession of rapid and brilliant victories, overwhelmed the tottering fabric of the Mogul power, and shook the throne of Timoor to its foundations.

On the death of Sahoo, the authority of Sivajee's family first exhibited symptoms of decline. The great lords of the empire took advantage of the situation of an infant sovereign ; and, assuming an independent authority, erected the famous office of *Paishwah*, or Director-general of the affairs of the empire ; which, in time, embraced every department of the state, and totally eclipsed the influence of the royal family.

Bajerow Balajee, the first Paishwah, was a man of great abilities. To the bravery of an intrepid soldier and skilful general, he added political sagacity ; and, after a long and successful administration, had the singular good fortune to transmit his authority unimpaired, and his influence undiminished, to his family and descendants.

A succession of Paishwahs after Bajerow continued to direct the affairs of the Marhatta state, until the middle of the present century. During this period the representative of the royal line of Sivajee, immured within the fortress of Satara, exhibited only the pageant of a sovereign. The idle ceremony of investing each successive Paishwah in his office, the only act of royalty which he was permitted to exercise, served but to render him an object of pity and degradation in the eyes of the princes of Hindostaun.

The great Jagheerdars, or hereditary landholders,

among the Marhattas, possessed on their own estates a kind of sovereign authority; and the terms by which they held their domains bore striking similarity to the ancient feudal system of many countries in Europe.

In times of war, indeed, when the public exigencies of the state required, these chiefs were obliged not only to furnish their quota toward the general stock, but also to appear in the field at the head of their followers, to defend the great banner of the empire. When the time of that service expired, they returned to their Jagheers what they enjoyed in perpetuity, converting the revenues solely to their own use. Nor would they, though frequently called upon by the Paishwah's ministers, consent to any diminution therein.

Conscious of their own strength and internal resources, these hardy chiefs were satisfied with paying a nominal allegiance to the commands of the Paishwah; and, as they increased in numbers, became more daring till at length they threw off the yoke; and the energy and activity which the first Paishwahs had displayed ceasing, the Jagheerdars established themselves in independence of the court of Poonah.

This so far reduced the influence of the Paishwah family as to give the Marhatta nation the appearance of a great military republic, united by general interests, but divided and distinct in the operation of its various executive branches, in which situation it remains to the present day. At the period now commemorating, Madho Row Narrain held the office of Paishwah at the court of Poonah. By an early application to business, he contrived to uphold his authority against the in-

trigues of his numerous enemies, and to render his authority respected.

On the other hand, three powerful families in the state were secretly endeavouring to undermine the authority of the Paishwah, and erect their own on its ruin. 1. The family of Bhonselah, rulers of the province of Berar, which they held in jaghire from Rajah Sahoo. Moodajee Bhonselah at this time ruled over that province, and is well known to the British nation. Allied by blood to the royal family of Sivajee, this chief was considered with the highest respect by the whole Marhatta nation; and, having established his authority on a sound basis, he is looked up to by all parties as a proper counterpoise to the influence and over-weening ambition of the court of Poonah. 2. Pillajee Guicawar, or the herdsman, whose ancestors wrested from the Mogul Furrok Seer all the country at the foot of the Balah Ghaut mountains, and from Ahmadabad, the capital of Guzerat, to the port of Damaun on the coast of Konkan. This family (whose jaghire was likewise a grant from Rajah Sahoo) formed an alliance with the British Government during the Second Marhatta War.* 3. Tookajee Holkar and Madhajee Sindhia, who jointly shared the Malwah province.

The Marhatta force when united might amount to 150,000 men, the major part of which being horsemen, were accustomed to a desultory and predatory mode of warfare, entirely destitute of science or discipline, but formidable from their numbers and energetic method

* See Reports of the Select Committee, etc.

of attack. The Marhattas then, as already remarked, having recovered in a great measure the shock sustained in their late defeat, appeared ready to renew their efforts, and interpose in the transactions of the court of Delhi. Three chiefs of note, Tookajee, Sindhia, and Besagee, had for some time past taken a favourable position with a large force to the northward of the river Chumbul, in the vicinity of the town of Futtahpore. Najeeb Al Dowla, who had been placed at the head of the administration at Delhi, continued in that situation with great credit to himself and benefit to the state. An able politician, a valorous soldier, and pleasant and affable in his manners and demeanour, he gained the confidence of the Delhians, and his influence was found sufficient to uphold the royal authority in the small portion of authority which it still retained. Najeeb Al Dowla, who was equally desirous with the king's friends for his majesty to return to Delhi, readily entered into the views of the Marhattas on that head. He had, moreover, a more forcible argument to inspire him with that resolution. The Jauts, who, notwithstanding their late disaster in the loss of Sooruj Mull, their favourite chief, had made head again under his son and successor, Jowaher Sing, and threatened Delhi with the horrors of a siege. In this critical situation, the minister entered into an alliance with the Marhatta leaders, and, in concert with them, invited Shah-Aulum to return to his capital. The Marhattas who had an army consisting of 30,000 horse, if sincere in their professions of ameliorating the king's situation, certainly possessed the means, totally independent either of the

British or any other nation in Hindostaun. But it cannot be denied that their chief aim in uniting with the minister, and a concurrence with the king's inclinations, were not dictated by a generous regard for his interests, but entirely with a view to their own aggrandisement.

They expected, when Shah-Aulum, through their assistance, should be established at Delhi, the whole management of affairs would be placed in their hands, and were determined that neither Najeeb Al Dowla nor any other minister should possess influence in the state. This intention, indeed, appeared manifest throughout the negotiations ; comformably to the characteristic policy of their nation, they instructed their agent to announce to the king the reward they expected for their interference, in the present critical state of affairs and made a previous, though secret, stipulation for a cession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad to be delivered over to them for ever.

To these demands, however exorbitant, Shah-Aulum, impatient of his confinement at Allahabad, and eager to set out on his intended journey, yielded a ready assent. Najeeb Al Dowla, when he wrote at this time to the king, recapitulated the circumstances that led to the present offers of the Marhatta leaders, and earnestly pressed the necessity of his speedy appearance at the capital. "By this step," said he, "the designs of your enemies will be frustrated and the rebels punished ; and I shall have the singular satisfaction of seeing your majesty, before I die, seated on the throne of your illustrious ancestors, and restored to imperial authority."

A few days after writing the above letter, this able minister, at an advanced age, having laboured under a complication of disorders, expired, to the great detriment of the king's interests, and the general regret of the inhabitants of Delhi, who still continue to speak of his administration in terms of respectful gratitude. This occurrence, however untoward, made no alteration in the plan laid down; on the contrary, the king appeared more eager than before to commence his expedition; and notwithstanding the salutary advice of the English government, the entreaties of the vazir, or the remonstrances of such of his servants who were attached to his real interests, he persisted in his design.

Previous to Shah-Aulum's departure, his minister, Muneer Al Dowlah, who had already made two journeys into Deccan to concert measures with the Marhatta chiefs, was now for the last time sent by the king to Calcutta to demand the approbation of the British government on his intended movement. But here he met with a positive refusal; convinced of the imprudence of the step his majesty was about to take, the Council strongly remonstratred against it; they told Muneer Al Dowlah that the king was throwing away the substance to grasp a shadow, and sacrificing his solid and substantial interests to the vain and idle gratification of residing in the imperial palace; they warned him against the impolicy of placing confidence in the Marhattas, the very people whose perfidious conduct and insatiable ambition had already proved so fatal to many of his august family. They finally pre-

dicted that the present measure was equally dangerous and destructive to his real benefit, as it would undoubtedly hereafter prove distressing to his recollection. With these sentiments, certainly honourable to themselves, the Council of Calcutta dismissed Muneer Al Dowlah. But though the British government declined to sanction the king's departure from their protection, they permitteed him to retain in his service some battalions of Seapoys which had been trained and disciplined after the European method, having first, however, withdrawn their own officers. With these and other aids, particularly a large supply from the vazir, and the exertions of the Mogul nobles, Shah-Aulum was enabled in the spring of 1771 to assemble an army of about 16,000 men. At his departure, Shujaa o Dowla, the vazir, presented a magnificent paishcush, or offering, with four lacks of rupees in specie. He, likewise, in concert with the commander-in-chief of the British forces, accompained his majesty to the frontiers of the Corah province ; when, having again renewed their solicitations to detain the king, but without effect, they took their leave.

On the road, intelligence was received of the death of Ahmad Khan Bungeish, the Nawaub of Furookhabad : on which the army halted, and a message was sent by the king's ministers to the guardians of the infant Nawaub, Muzuffur Jung, to demand the arrears due as paishcush to the royal treasury for several years.

This action, considering the unprotected state of the young Nawaub, was considered as oppressive and unjust ; but it was vehemently defended by the minis-

ters, on the principle of his majesty's want of ability to enforce his right until the present period.

Hassam Al Dowlah and other noblemen had a conference with the guardians of the young Nawaub ; at which it was agreed that paishcush of four lacks of rupees should be given on the part of Muzuffur Jung ; for which he was honoured by his majesty with a khillut, and other marks of distinction ; and a patent was directed to issued from the chancery office, confirming him Nawaub of the district.

The periodical rains being now set in, the king ordered his army to canton at Nabee Gunje, a town thirty miles west of Furookhabad, and in the high road to Delhi. At this place Anunt Row, a Marahtta vakeel, waited the arrival of the royal army. He was charged with the following propos itions for the king's consideration :

1. That whatever balance of *Chout** was due from the crown to the Paishwah family since the time of Mahmud Shah, should be faithfully discharged. That whatever plunder might be acquired during the war should be equally divided between the Marhattas and the Mogul troops.

2. That on the king's arrival at Delhi, the Marhatta leaders should be confirmed in the possession of their respective jagheers : and finally, for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Jauts and others, the

---

*The *Chout* is the tribute imposed by the Marhattas upon every part of Hindostaun that came under their authority since their first irruptions. It signifies one-fourth part of the net revenue of any state or province.

sum of five lacks of rupees should be immediately advanced from the king's treasury.

These prooposals, at a time when his majesty was so uear his capital, caused him extreme disgust. He perceived too well the arrogant spirit by which they were dictated ; but conscious of his own inability to resist or evade the fullest compliance, he acquiesced in the demand. The vakeel was graciously received : and a few days after the Nawaub Majd Al Dowla and several of the nobility arrived in the camp from Delhi to visit and congratulate his majesty on his approach. They brought with them from the Marhatta chiefs a variety of costly presents ; and many soldiers of fortune and adventurers having joined the royal standard, the court exhibited a gay and splendid appearance.

The arrival of the Marhatta chiefs enhanced the general satisfaction ; and on a day appointed, Sindiah, Holkar, and Beesajee, were introduced into the king's presence, and received with marks of distinguished respect.

Everything being now settled, the army continued its march; and, on the 25th of December, 1771, Shah-Aulum made his entry into the capital with much pomp and splendour, and amidst the acclamations of all ranks of people.

CHAPTER III

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ZABITA KHAN—THE MARHATTAS REFUSE TO DIVIDE THE PLUNDER—NUJUFF KHAN IN HIGH FAVOUR—HE QUARRELS WITH THE MARHATTAS—HIS DEFEAT—PARDONED—CESSION OF CORAH AND ALLAHABAD TO THE MARHATTAS—SHUJAA O DOWLA MARCHES AGAINST THE MARHATTAS—MARHATTAS RETIRE TO DECCAN.

The first object to which Shah-Aulum directed his attention after a few days' repose, was the punishment of Zabita Khan, son to the late minister, Najeeb Al Dowlah. At the time of his father's death, this nobleman resided at Sehaurunpore, the capital of the province of the same name.

This province, situated in the upper parts of the Dooab,* in the vicinity of the Sewalick hills, in the latitude of 28 29. N. long. 77. 50. W. and about 70 miles East of Delhi, was the jagheer bestowed upon Nejeeb Al Dowlah, as a reward for the many services rendered by him to the state. It commences under the Sewalick hills, and is bounded on the north by the fortress of Ghous Gurh, east by Sakertaul on the Ganges; west by the Purgannah of Seamlee; and south by the town of Meerut. The soil is fertile and luxurious, producing grain, sugarcane, and tobacco, in the greatest abundance: and until injured by the various internal

* The country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

commotions which occurred during the turbulent reigns of Aurangzeeb's successors, it was esteemed one of the most fertile parts of the empire.

Zabita Khan, not equally inclined to support the royal cause as his father had been, deemed the confused state of the king's affairs a fit opportunity to facilitate his own ambitious views; and scare had his father expired, when he applied himself to raising troops, who were chiefly Afghauns of his own tribe, and in fortifying the strongholds in his district. Among these was the post of Sakertaul, situated fifty miles from the capital on the western bank of the Ganges. This place was selected by Zabita Khan as the most eligible to make an advantageous stand. He threw up strong entrenchments; and having assembled a numerous body of veteran Rohillas, resolved to wait the attack of the royal army, now on the way to punish his rebellion.

The king commanded in person, and under him was the Nawaub Mirza Nujuff Khan, who began about this time to be noticed with marks of particular regard by his majesty, which was the foundation of his future power. The Marhatta forces were sent on as an advance guard, and the king and Nujuff Khan followed with the remainder of the troops.

Intelligence of the approach of the royal army being conveyed to Zabita Khan, he thought it better, by making a spirited effort to overcome his enemies in the field, than waiting behind his entrenchments. He accordingly advanced a few miles in front of his camp, and offered battle to the king's troops. The contest was bloody, and for some time doubtful;

the rebel chiefs, Saadut Khan and Syud Khan, led on their troops with great spirit; but the former being unfortunately slain by a cannon ball, the Rohillas, dispirited at that event, began to give way. Zabita Khan perceiving the disaster, ordered a retreat, and was soon compelled to leave the field of battle with precipitation. The Marhatta horse, advancing with great rapidity, commenced the pursuit of the flying enemy on all sides, and entering the camp along with the fugitives, they soon got possession of it, which rendered their victory complete. In the camp they found a fine park of artillery, together with an immense plunder of money, stores, and valuable effects of every kind; and the whole of the family of Zabita Khan were made prisoners.

This first essay augured favourably for the success of his majesty's arms; but the avarice exhibited by the Marhattas in the moment of victory caused great dis contents among the king's troops, and laid the seeds of internal discord and animosity. Notwithstanding the stipulations already recorded, which were entered into at Nubee Gunj, the Marhattas appropriated the greatest part of the spoil taken on this occasion to their own use. They secured the whole of the treasure, amounting to a krore of rupees, without offering to make the smallest distribution with their gallant colleagues. The king, incensed at this conduct, complained of it with warmth to the Marhatta leaders, but without effect. He found their present influence too great to be set aside, and therefore dissembled; but the Mogul nobility nourished a secret hatred against them, which they resolved to

make manifest on the first opportunity that was afforded them.

Meanwhile the army advanced, and took possession of Sahaurunpore, together with other strong places in the neighbourhood; so that, excepting the fort of Ghous Gurh, the whole of the province acknowledged the king's authority. The family of Zabita Khan, who had been taken in his camp, were, by order of Shah-Aulum, set at liberty, and sent with a strong escort to the fort of Ghous Gurh, it being an inviolable maxim throughout Hindostaun, and in general most religiously observed, to respect the honour of the Harem,*

Having appointed a person to command in Sahaurunpore, and settled the affairs of the province, Shah-Aulum returned with the army to Delhi.

The conduct of the Marhatta chiefs, in refusing to make a fair distribution of the spoil acquired by the late victory, made a deep impression on the mind of Shah-Aulum. The presence of persons who had insulted his authority was irksome to him ; and, in order to be released from the restraint which they imposed, he requested them to march their forces against the Jauts, who had again assembled in arms under the command of their chief, Rajah Newal Sing. The Marhattas obeyed the order, and departed ; but had not been gone many days, when the king received authentic information that they were in league with the rebel, Zabita Khan, who had cajoled them into his views, and were

* The Harem signifies any females of the family, whatever may be their rank or condition.

actually on the point of concluding a treaty with that nobleman.

Shah-Aulum, determined to make one effort to destroy their iniquitous cabals, asked advice from Nujuff Khan. He proposed to augment the Mogul army, and to raise new levies with all possible expedition. The king, who knew his ability, and was convinced of his attachment, relied entirely on his exertions; and to give proof of his confidence, he publicly bestowed on him the office of Pay-master General of his forces.

Nujuff Khan in a short time assembled a considerable body of troops; and to animate their zeal on the occasion, he declared it was for the sole purpose of protecting the person of his majesty against the insolent menaces of the Marhatta chiefs.

These precautions were sufficiently justified by the conduct of the Marhattas, who, on their arrival in the country of the Jauts, instead of prosecuting the war, were employed in settling the terms of a treaty with Zabita Khan. On the arrival of that chief in their camp, it was stipulated that, on his advancing a large sum of money, they would return to Delhi, and on their arrival, in concert with him, insist not only on a pardon for his offences, but the investiture of the office of Ameer Al Omrah*, which his father had enjoyed. Conformably to this agreement, they struck their tents, and marched towards Delhi. When arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, they sent a messenger to his

* Chief of the nobility, an office of the highest rank in Hindostaun.

majesty to require his compliance with the demands aforementioned ; but Shah-Aulum, relying on the attachment of the Mogul troops, and the fidelity of Nujuff Khan, assumed a bolder tone, and dismissed the messenger with a positive refusal.

Meanwhile the minister, by the king's order, led out his troops to battle. He took post near the monument of a Mahomedan devotee without the walls of the city, opposite the gate called Ajmere. His army was well appointed, having a numerous artillery commanded by a French officer. The Marhattas, who outnumbered their opponents, were confident of success, and the attack commenced with great fury on both sides ; but an accident which happened to Nujuff Khan, by the blowing up of an ammunition waggon, and which caused a considerable loss among his troops, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the enemy, and with great difficulty the minister was enabled to draw off a part of his army under shelter of a slight entrenchment thrown up in haste by the French commandant of artillery. The Marhattas disliking to attack entrenchment, suddenly wheeled off and attacked the gate of the city which was near them, hoping to carry it ; but Hussam Al Dowlah, who was stationed in that place, repulsed them with great intrepidity, till finding they could not effect their purpose, they suddenly withdrew their army, and retired to a small distance from the city.

From the issue of the preceding day, the king saw too plainly he could not hope to prolong the contest ; and, at a consultation which he held with his Mogul officers, they with reluctance advised him to accommo-

date matters with the enemy, and a negotiation accordingly commenced. The Marhattas were again invited to court, whither they repaired the ensuing morning, accompanied by Zabita Khan, who was pardoned, and, moreover, gratified with a khillut, reinstated in his government of Sahaurunpore, and finally, appointed to the long-expected office of Ameer Al Omrah. It has been judged by many that these concessions so degrading to the king, were not wholly occasioned by his inability to resist, but partly from the intrigues of Hussam Al Dowlah, who, though he had behaved gallantly in the late attack, was known to be in the interest of the Marhattas. Their triumph was now complete; and to establish it in the eyes of all Hindostaun, they asked and obtained from his majesty *sunnuds** for the province of Corah and Allahabad, which had by a solemn treaty already been granted to the English.

Though Shah-Aulum acceded to his degradation with indignation and disgust, rigid impartiality demands that to his own weakness, effeminacy, and indolence, be ascribed the real causes of his disgrace. His total want of energy in judging for himself, made him always a ready and easy prey to the designs of the insolent or ambitious. Hussam Al Dowla, who had long been the personal enemy of Nujuff Khan, took this opportunity of persecuting that nobleman to the utmost. Supported by the Marhatta chiefs, he publicly accused Nujuff Khan as the sole adviser of the late pernicious measures in

* A grant.

effecting a breach betwixt his majesty and his faithful adherents the Marhattas, and, that owing to his councils the affairs of the state had fallen into disorder; he insisted, therefore, on his immediate execution. The king, though well convinced of the attachment of Nujuff Khan, was incapable of affording him any protection at the present juncture; being entirely at the disposal of the triumphant party, he would therefore have fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, had not his own resolute spirit rescued him.

When the aforementioned negotiation commenced, Nujuff Khan, who foresaw the gathering storm, had retired prudently to his own palace; there, animated by a generous indignation at the unworthy treatment he had received, he collected his friends and dependants around him, and these to the number of 3,000, determined with their lord to share his fortunes. Instigated by Hussam Al Dowla, the Marhatta forces were ordered to assult Nujuff Khan in his palace; the affair began to wear a very serious aspect; as, from the known bravery of the general, he could not be taken without a desperate resistance and much bloodshed. This, however, was prevented by the interference of Tookajee Holkar; admiring the intrepidity of Nujuff Khan, and ashamed of the part his countrymen were acting, this generous chief offered his mediation, which was accepted, and Nujuff Khan directed to repair to court in order to receive his pardon. Accordingly, still attended by his faithful adherents, who refused to quit him, he repaired to the imperial palace, where he was graciously received by his majesty, honoured with a khillut, and

appointed to the command of the army. For this last favour, he was indebted more to the complexion of affairs than the inclinations of his enemies.

During the late commotions within the province of Delhi, others of a very serious nature had arisen from an opposite quarter. The Rohillas were on the eve of a memorable contest, in which the interests of the vazir Shujaa o Dowla, as likewise those of the king, were materially involved. The Marhattas, who during the two preceding years had committed every species of violence and oppression, laying waste the countries through which they passed, and insulting the inhabitants, had, among other places, made irruptions into the fine province of Rohilcund, and, by a barbarous species of warfare in destroying the produce of the country, excited in that warlike tribe a just indignation. Not being of themselves sufficiently numerous to resist the enemy, they applied to the vazir for assistance, who, in concurrence with the commander-in-chief of the British forces, agreed to unite and expel the invaders. Hafiz Rahmut Khan, chief of the tribe, on this occasion, formed a treaty with the vazir and the English, in which he agreed, in return for the assistance offered, to pay at the end of the war the sum of forty lacks of rupees to the vazier. In these transactians, Shah-Aulum had secretly borne a considerable part. Pending the treaty, he had privately consulted with the agents of the vazir, and had, moreover, informed the British government* it was now as much his earnest desire to be rid of the thraldom in which he was kept by the Marhattas, as he

* See Select Reports, *passim*.

had before been partial to them. He added, likewise, that every exertion should be made on his part to counteract their designs by constantly giving intimation of their intended movements.

In consequence of these engagements, the forces of Shujaa o Dowla, accompanied by the English brigades, joined the Rohilla army, who were stationed on the frontiers. Previous to this event, a very large Marhatta army, commanded by Holkar and Besajee, had crossed the Ganges, and laid waste great part of the country: they were, however, soon repulsed and driven back across the river with the utmost precipitation. The remainder of the Marhatta army under Sindiah, attended by Nujuff Khan, who as, already mentioned, had been reinstated in his appointment, now arrived, but finding the ill success of their associates, and observing the countenance of the British troops, they held a consultation upon their future operations. Finding the situation of affairs hostile to their views, and knowing the king's mind was now entirely estranged from them, they resolved for the present to return to Deccan, determined to renew their ambitious schemes as opportunity should offer. Agreeably to this resolve, Sindiah and Holkar first, and Besajee afterwards, withdrew their respective troops, and taking the route to Jeypore, quitted Hindostaun. Nujuff Khan returned to Delhi with the Mogul troops.

CHAPTER IV

Administration of Nujuff Khan—Conquests in the Jaut Country—Rupture betwixt Shujaa o Dowla and the Rohillas—Reduction of Rohilcund Description of that Country—Death of Shujaa o Dowla—Account of the Oude Family.

The retreat of the Marhattas afforded Shah-Aulum the highest satisfaction: freed from the vexations occasioned by their insolent demeanour, he hoped he should once more be enabled to maintain his authority in the state, and bring his affairs into a better train.—He was resolved to place his whole confidence on Mirza Nujuff Khan, who in every respect was well qualified for the important trust. High spirited and an active, equally a valiant, commander, and of courteous and obliging manners, he conciliated the esteem of every one; and by his unremitting attention to business, he preserved regularity, and restored order throughout every department.

The king, to give public proof of his opinion of this nobleman's attachment, thought proper, as a preliminary step, to dismiss hir rival, Hussam Al Dowlah, from all his employments. His majesty had long beheld the predilection which that minister had entertained for the Marhattas, whose interests he had dared to prefer to those of his lawful sovereign; and resolved to punish him for his presumption. He was degraded from his nobility, and all his estates confiscated to the royal



MIRZA NUJUFF KHAN ZULFICAR AL DOWLAH

treasury. His appointments were conferred on Nujuff Khan, who was at the same time created captain-general of the forces of the empire, and dignificd with other titles.*

The treasures taken from Hussam Al Dowla, which had been amassed by oppressive means, afforded a fund sufficient to answer the expenses of a war with the Jauts, who, during the late disputes at court, had again made head, and were exciting fresh dirturbances in order to embarrass the king's governmeut.

About this time, Majd Al Dowla, a nobleman of considerable eminence, was appointed to the office of Dewaun† and the king, to encourage his army, caused it to be signified to the troops that the plunder acquired during the intended expedition, should be divided amongst them.

The country of the Jauts, so frequently mentioned, is situated on both sides of the river Jumna, and comprehends a tract of 150 miles in length, by about 60 in breadth. It extends from the vicinity of Gwalior, a large town 60 miles westward of Agra, to the skrits of the capital ; and contains within its limits many strong fortresses and other holds. Towards the close of the reign of Aurungzeeb, this singular tribe first

---

* His titles at length were, Khan Sipah-i-Salar Hindostaun, Rustum Al Dowla, Rustum-i-Hind, Zulficar Al Dowla, Mirza Nujuff Khan Bahadur, Ghalib Jung.—In English thus :

Leader of the armies of Hindostaun, splendour of the State, Rustum of India, Sword of the Empire, Mirza Nujuff Khan victorious in battle.

† Collector of the revenues.

attracted notice. Emigrating from a remote spot on the banks of the Indus, in the lower parts of the Multan province, and accustomed to the humble occupations of husbandry, they were allowed to settle themselves peaceably in their present residence. In the course of a few years, becoming numerous, they ventured to attack the caravans proceeding to Delhi with supplies for the royal army ; and, having met with unexpected success on their first attempts, at length became so formidable as to require the presence of the imperial troops to overawe them.

Their future progress was inconceivably rapid ; and amid the civil wars carried on by Aurungzeeb's successors, the Jauts found means to secure a large portion of country to themselves, in which they built forts, and accumulated great wealth. Their natural propensity to plunder, which accompanied them in their emigration, has communicated itself to their posterity, and they are still a most notorious and daring banditti.

Chura Mun, one of their first chiefs, was an intrepid soldier, and remarkably fortunate in his encounters with the imperial troops, who were frequently compelled to retire with precipitation before this daring tribe. In later times, Suruj Mull, who fell in an ambuscade a few years since, was one of the most respectable of their leaders. He, in 1756, having been dignified with the title of Rajah, or prince, kept his court with great splendour. But with his death their power, in a great measure, expired. His eldest son, Newal Sing, who now commanded the tribe, was not equal to contend with the ability of Nujuff Khan ; but being a man of great

personal courage, he determined to risk the issue ; and for this purpose, besides augmenting his army, he had fortified in the strongest manner the towns of Deig, Bullum Gurh, and other places within his jurisdiction.

Zulficar Al Dowla having received his instructions from the king, put his troops in motion, and marched towards the Jauts. In his way he reduced several refractory Zemindars, whom the late disturbances at court had tempted to revolt from their allegiance. On these he imposed heavy fines, and by this means enriched his treasury to a considerable amount. In the meantime, the Jaut Rajah, hearing of the success of the captain-general, was fearful he might make an attack upon the fort of Deig, one of his strongest holds, which, if successful, would undoubtedly put an end to the war, and prove utter destruction to his affairs. To prevent this, he resolved to hazard an action ; and, agreeably to his determination, threw himself in the way of the royal army. A sharp engagement ensued ; but Nujuff Khan's good fortune prevailing, the Jaut Rajah was totally defeated and compelled to quit the field of battle with very few of his soldiers. He took refuge in the fort of Deig, which he resolved to defend to the last extremity.

The plunder of Newal Sing's camp, which was immense, prevented an immediate pursuit : and Nujuff Khan, elate with his victory, sent an account of it to Delhi without delay. The news of success, so important, was received at court with the highest satisfaction ; and rewards and honours were conferred on the captain-general and his army by the king's express command.

He sent the general a letter of thanks, written with his own hand, and recommended a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, which it was hoped would bring the contest to a speedy and favourable issue. From the field of battle, Nujuff Khan led the army to Agra, which place he invested on all sides ; but not having a sufficient train of artillery, he was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade, which, indeed, is the more general method adopted by the armies of Hindostaun.

During the siege, he sent detachments to different parts of the surrounding country, by which means, several of the refractory zemindars were induced to submit themselves to the king's authority.

About this time, the vazir Shujaa o Dowla, advanced into the Dooab with a considerable army. That prince, whose ambition was great, deeming the retreat of the Marhattas favourable to his designs, resolved to appropriate some of their possessions to his own use. He accordingly laid siege to Etawah, a city on the frontiers, from whence he expelled the Marhattas, and placed a garrison therein on his own part. From Etawah he proceeded to Agra, then besieged by Nujuff Khan, whom he assisted with an increase of force, and several fine cannont, which enabled the captain-general to carry on the siege with vigour. The garrison, threatened by a dearth of provisions, were, without difficulty, persuaded to capitulate, and accordingly delivered up the fort and its dependencies to Nujuff Khan. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the capital with the important intelligence, and carried with him the keys of the fort to be laid at his majesty's feet.

Shujaa-o Dowla at the same time sent Illuj Khan, his favourite, to wait on the king, and, in his name, compliment him on the late successes. But that nobleman was charged with a secret commission of a more important nature. It was to engage the king's consent to the designs which he now meditated against the Rohillas, and, in the event of conquest, to participate with his majesty in sharing the country between them. The jealousy with which the vazir had long beheld the Rohilla power, and his alarm at the extension of their influence, so contiguous to his own dominions, determined him, though contrary to strict justice and sound policy, to quarrel with that nation; and that a pretex might not be wanting in his favour, he urged the infraction of the late treaty, and complained loudly of the treacherous conduct of the Rohillas in delaying payment of the stipulated sum.

The violation of a treaty made under such circumstances, and by which the Rohillas had certainly received material assistance in the expulsion of the invaders of their country, cannot indeed be justified by any principle of common honesty, though at the same time the inordinate ambition of the vazir, and his enterprizing spirit, were grounds of alarm, sufficient to persuade the Rohilla Sirdars to counteract and curb it by any means within their power.

Illuj Khan, on his arrival at court, consulted with Majd Al Dowla on the foregoing points; and, as he brought a large sum of money with him, he found less difficulty in succeeding in his object. A secret treaty was at length formed, by which the vazir bound himself

not only to defray the expenses of the war, but at its conclusion, his majesty should participate in the distribution of the plunder as well as a share in the conquered province, or if more agreeable, have an equal proportion of country more contiguous to Delhi. On the part of the king, he was to send the army under Nujuff Khan to the assistance of the vazir, who was preparing, in concert with the British forces, to take the field. Shah-Aulum appeared to listen to their proposals with much complacency ; yet, as an ingenious historian* has justly remarked, he did not heartily concur in the measure, being averse to aggrandising the vazir at the expense of the Rohillas. Whatever were his real sentiments, the captain-general was recalled from Agra, and directed to march the army towards Rohilcund, and the king prepared to take the field ; but indisposition, whether real or pretended, prevented him from attending the army, which set out under the command of Nujuff Khan.

The memorable battle of Cutterah, and the termination of the Rohilla war which soon followed, are too well known to require any comment in these transactions ; it may, however, gratify curiosity to take a view of the then situation, soil, climate, and productions of that celebrated province.

Rohilcund, called in Sanscrit *Cuttair*, comprehends that tract lying east of the Ganges, between the 28th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and from 76 to 80 longitude. Commencing in the vicinity of Loll Dong,

* Captain Jonathan Scott.

at the foot of the Kummow Hills, it extends eastward to the town of Pillibeet : on the north and west, it is bounded by the Ganges, and to the south, by the district of Mahomedy, in the dominions of Oude.

The soil of Cuttair is in general a rich black mould, intermixed in many parts with sand and red earth ; it is uncommonly fertile, and capable of the highest cultivation, abounding in all sorts of grain, sugar-cane, and tobacco. Few countries have, in truth, more natural advantages than this ; it is well supplied with several large rivers, besides numerous smaller streams. Among the first, are the Ramganga and Dewah, (or Gamberah).

The Ramganga, taking its rise between the first and second range of mountains to the north-east, issues forth into the plains of Hindostaun at the Gaut of Colly ; and, after traversing the greater part of Rohilcund, in a south and south-westerly direction, and fertilizing the lands, is joined in its progress by other rivers, and finally, discharged into the Ganges in the vicinity of Kannouj. This majestic river, until late years imperfectly known, is navigable for seven months in the year ; its stream is broad and rapid, and its banks are adorned with many large and populous villages. On the eastern side, the Dewah, issuing from the same mountains, runs by the town of Pillibeet. Here are embarked the finest Saul, Sissoo, and fir timbers, the produce of the neighbouring forests that skrit the foot of the Kummow hills. At the city of Shahjehanpore, the Dewah joins the Gamberah, whose name it assumes, and, after washing the towns of Sandy, Beroun, and other places, meets the Ramganga

near its junction with the Ganges. The smaller streams are the Cossillah, Nahul, Byghul, Dakra, Bukrah, Beesrah and Yarwufadar; these, likewise, contribute highly to the cultivation of the country, and by means of reservoirs, sluices, canals and acqueducts, disperse their waters throughout the corn fields in every direction, but more particularly so in the jagheer of the late Fyzoolah Khan.

Another property peculiar to Cuttair, is the facility with which water is procured; exclusive of the rivers and streams before enumerated, the soil is such, that by digging a few feet from the surface of the earth in any part of the country, water is procured in abundance.

So happily situated by nature, Rohilcund has in all times been deemed of great political importance. In the early times of the empire, commerce flourished. The great cities of Shahabad, Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Bissowiee, Bedaon, Ownla, Mooradabad and Sumbul, formerly kept up a constant intercourse with the caravans of the north. By them were exported into Cuttair, the products of Lahore, Cabul, Cashmere, Candahar and Persia, rubies, precious stones, tuteneage, copper, iron, tin, lead, borax, drugs, Cashmerian shawls, Carmanian wool, mules, horses and camels; in return they received, coarse cloths, sugar, grain and tobacco.

During the reign of the Patan Dynasty in Hindostaun, many princes of that family kept their courts for a series of years in the ancient city of Bedaon. There, as in many parts of Cuttair, are to be seen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges and mausoleums. Among the first-rate cities of modern days are to be placed, Ownla, Bissowlee, Bareilly

and Pillibeet, which having heen the residences of those Rohilla chiefs who founded a new empire in Cuttair within half a century back, demand on this occasion particular attention.

The city of Ownla, situated in the centre, and in one of the finest parts of Rohilcund, is built on an eminence, having a commanding view of the adjacent country. The river Nuwaub Nuddi runs along the south-western side of the city. The town is of considerable extent, and adorned with many handsome buildings, most of which are now in ruins. Enough, however, remains to discover the former grandeur of the place, and to regret the fatal ravages of destructive ambition. On the summit of the eminence is the fort built of brick. It was erected about fifty years since by Ali Mahomed, founder of the Rohilla government in Cuttair, and here he kept his court. Within the fort is the palace of Ali Mahomed, a cathedral, and several other public buildings. In the environs of Ownla are ruins of palaces, gardens, and mosques ; the adjacent country is by nature beautifnl, but the total want of cultivation renders melancholy the prospect. Ownla is sixteen miles N.-W. of Bareilly, from Bissowlee fourteen, and about equally distant from Delhi and Pillibeet. At Bissowlee are likewise to be seen evident traces of the former splendour of the Rohilla government; and it is, moreover, remarkable for being the burial place of several of the family of Ali Mahomed.

Bareilly, situated on the banks of the united streams of Jooah and Sunkra, is a large, handsome, well-built city. It was the capital of Hafiz Rahmut, and a place

of considerable trade. It is distant from Lucknow 180 miles, and from the Ganges 120.—Lastly, the town of Pillibeet. This place, thirty-six miles to the north-east of Bareilly, was peculiarly selected by the discriminative foresight of Hafiz Rahmut Khan, as of great importance in its commercial resources. For the encouragement of trade that prince built a spacious Shehr Punnah, or Pettah, which is four miles in circumference. It is surrounded by a brick wall, and within the enclosure is erected a magnificent mosque. Admirably situated on the banks of the Dewah, Pillibeet, during the Rohilla government, was an emporium of commerce. Its staples are Saul, Sessoo, and fir timbers, sugars, and coarse cloths; and from the mountains of Almorah are imported borax, pitch, drugs, wax, and honey: of late years, however, it is melancholy to add, the hand of commerce is shrunk up, and the want of a well-regulated police, the total discouragement to industry, and the vexatious imposts levied by the rulers have almost annihilated its once-profitable and flourishing trade.

The revenues of Cuttair are stated, in the imperial register at Delhi, to be five millions sterling. During the flourishing times of the empire, the face of the country will warrant the supposition, and under the Rohilla government, who paid unremitting attention to agriculture, the province might have yielded that sum. After the conquest of Rohilcund by Shujaa o Dowla, an offer was made to that prince to rent the province for two millions. Since that period the revenues, from a variety of causes, have continued to decline; and under the present government, the province of Cutttair,

with difficulty yields the sum of 36 lacks, or about £ 400,000 sterling.

Of the inhabitants there yet remains to speak. The Rohillas,* who, it is well known, originally emigrated from the mountains of Afghanistun, about sixty years since, settled in Cuttair. They are a hardy, warlike race, equally capable of arms and husbandry. Their feudal system of government, similar to those of Europe in former days, has inspired them with ideas of turbulence and ferocity; at the same time they are uncommonly patient under hardships, and attached to their chiefs by indissoluble bonds of national affection. But withal, in common with other Afghauns, they are crafty, teacherous, and revengeful. This characteristic national spirit, aided by the impetuous follies of a ferocious and uncivilized mind, renders difficult the government of this race. Hence, frequent revolutions, civil broils at home, and wars abroad, have constantly marked the Rohilla government under its different rulers. Yet has it been evinced in more instances than one, that by kind and proper treatment, even this generally-considered ferocious tribe may be rendered tractable: that, when their peculiarities and prejudices are attended to by a wise and liberal government, they will prove not only good subjects, but even steady and faithful allies.

Shortly after the battle of Cuttera, Zulficar Al Dowla joined the vazir and the British forces. He was received

---

* Consult the account of the Rohilla Afghauns, published by the late Captain Charles Hamilton of Bengal.

with distinction, and the vazir nominated him to the Neabut of the vizarut, an office more honourable than lucrative, but accepted by the captain-general with thankfulness. Shujaa o Dowla now thought proper to dismiss him; and, in order to attach him more to his interests, gave a reinforcement of his own troops.

It has been seen that by the treaty of Delhi, Shujaa o Dowla had agreed to share his conquests with the king, and to make an equal division of the plunder acquired by the war. Consonant to the spirit of this treaty, the captain-general had come from Delhi in aid of the vazir: but the behaviour of Shujaa on this occasion was neither just nor honourable. Though immense plunder had been acquired in the late battle, his avaricious spirit prompted him to retain the whole to himself; and when urged by the captain-general to deliver up the king's share, he peremptorily declined it. A conduct, in every respect so unwarrantable, excited extreme disgust in the king's mind; but having made several fruitless and ineffectual endeavours to alter the vazir's resolution, his majesty at length desisted, and Nujuff Khan was compelled to return to Delhi.

Shujaa o Dowla, after settling the government of the province, and appointing Aumils to the several districts, took his leave of the British commander-in-chief, and returned to Oude. During the remainder of that year, he employed himself in arranging the affairs of the province of Furrokhobad, which was tributary to him; but having been long afflicted with a violent disorder, which now returned with accumulated violence, notwithstanding every exertion and assistance afforded

by his physicians, he expired in his palace at Fyzabad.*

An historian†, respectable for his talents, has imformed the world that the reigning family in Oude were obscure in their origin and of low birth; but as that information, from accounts procured at a later period, appears to be incorrect, we have, with that deference to fidelity which the impartiality of history demands, detailed a more authentic account§ of the rise of that family.

SAADUT KHAN.

Saadut Khan, son of Mirza Nussur Al Deen Hyder, known at first under the name of Meer Mahomed Ameen, was born in the city of Nishapore, in the province of Khorausaun. He was descended in a direct line from the Imaum Musa Kasim, of the family of Ali, esteemed in Persia as of the highest and most noble extraction. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Aurengzeeb, many Persian families of distinction, retiring from the disorders and civil wars which overwhelmed their native country, sought an asylum in Hindostaun. At that period, Meer Mahomed Ameen, who had been bred to arms, became

* In the month of January, 1775.

† Colonel Dow.

§ In this detail the author has principally followed a small genealogical work, entitled *Owsaf-i-Asuph*, or the Genealogy of Asuf Al Dowla, the present vazir, which was procured by the friendship of Mr. George Johnstone, many years Resident at Lucknow.

desirous of signalising himself, and with the laudable hope of providing for his family, he bade adieu to his native country, and repaired to Lahore. He was received into the Imperial service, and shortly after took the name of Saadut Khan. By means of the friendship which he formed with several of the principal officers about the court, he was introduced to the emperor's notice, and stood high in his favour, and continued so until his death. On the accession of Mohammad Shah, Saadut Khan was created a noble of the empire; and through the influence of his great patron, Sarbullund Khan, he was nominated to the government of Akbarabad. Increasing in favour he was appointed Soobadar of Oude, and at the same time presented with the rank of 7,000 horse, and honoured with a new patent of nobility.* During the reign of Mohammad Shah he held with appluse the highest offices of the State; and by his successes in Deccan, and on the frontiers of the empire, upheld the tottering fortunes of a weak and dissolute government.

But in paying his tribute to his abilities, his conduct, when actuated by base and unworthy motives, must be equally reprobatad.—At the memorable invasion of Hindostaun by Nadir Shah, when his country became a prey to savage ferocity and lawless outarge, Saadut Khan, from selfish views and a spirit of inordinate ambition, excited the vengeance of the conqueror, and by

---

* His titles at length were Boorhan ul Mooluk, Itimaud Al Dowla Meer Mahomed Ameen Khan Bahadur Shoukut Jung. In English thus:

Pillar of the empire, confident Support of the State, Meer Mohamed Ameen Khan, the Glory of War.

apprising him of the immense riches to be acquired by visiting the capital, he brought incalculable calamity upon his sovereign and his subjects.* He did not, however, live, as has been justly remarked, to reap the fruits of a conduct so treacherous, dying, shortly after the conqueror's entrance into Delhi, of a cancer in his back.

SAFDAR JUNG

When Saadut Khan quitted his native country, he left behind him an only sister, married to a nobleman, named Jaafer Beg. He promised at his departure, should fortune prove favourable, to send for his family to Hindostaun, which he did accordingly. But Jaafer Beg had died and left two sons, Abul Munsoor Khan and Mirza Mohsun, the former better known as Safdar Jung. These youths were received with affectionate regard by Saadut Khan ; and, to perpetuate the family honours, he bestowed his only daughter in marriage to the elder brother. That princess, the grandmother of the reigning Nawaub, is well known to the British nation. After living to the great age of ninety, she expired a few years since at her palace in Oude. On death of his uncle, the young Nawaub Safdar Jung was confirmed by the king in his government of Oude ; and on the departure of the Persian conqueror, became a great favourite at the court of Mohammad Shah. Employed, like his predecessors, in distant parts of the empire, his success was frequently brilliant ; and he rose

* Consult second volume of Captain Scott's interesting History of the Successors of Aurengzeeb.

gradually to the highest honours in the state. In addition to the government of Allahabad, he was appointed to the office of Grand Master of the Artillery; and on the death of the celebrated Nizam Al Moolük, was made vazir* of the empire, and dignified with honours and titles. He died in 1756, having the character of a daring and intrepid soldier, and esteemed by his own subjects as a good man and upright magistrate.

SHUJAA O DOWLA

Shujaa o Dowla, son and successor of Safdar Jung, was called in his younger† days Mirza Jelaul Uddeen Hyder. Had this prince lived in the reign of Shah Jehan, or the Great Aurengzeeb, he might have attained a high character in the annals of the empire; but he was born at a period when the house of Timoor was rapidly declining, and the superior genius of a foreign nation had acquired an ascendency not to be overborn. Shujaa o Dowla, in his contest with the English, having rashly espoused the cause of the unfortunate Cassim Ali, Nuwaub of Bengal, felt the effects of this ascendency;

* It was not then the son of a Persian pedlar who ruled over Oude, but a man of birth and family; and whatever might have been his demerits, or political errors, his services to his country entitle him, in every unprejudiced mind, to an appellation more honourable.

† It is customary in Hindostaun, and throughout several of the Asiatic courts, to change the name of a prince on his accession to the throne. Thus the famous Jehangir was called *Selim*: Shah Jehan, *Khorrum*; Shujaa o Dowal, *Mirza Jelaul Uddeen Hyder*; his son and successor, Asuf Al Dowla, was *Mirza Amauni*. Many other instances occur.

and, after two unsuccessful attempts, perceiving his incapacity to resist, he wisely resolved to conciliate the attention of his enemies. He was not deceived; the peace of 1765 (well known in Europe) placed him in a situation more eligible than what he held at the commencement of the war: for, exclusive of the restoration of the conquered provinces, he became the friend and ally of the English; and to cement the union by still closer ties, he asked and obtained the assistance of a British force for the protection of his frontiers.

When released from the afore-mentioned contest, Shujaa o Dowla directed his attention to the augmentation of his army, and to the management of the affairs of his own dominions, into the government of which great abuses had been introduced. If we take his character comparatively, Shujaa o Dowla will be allowed considerable merit: active and vigorous in his mind, he was bold, daring, and enterprising, which he manifested on various occasions, and in situations of danger and difficulty. His temper was irascible, which often led him to commit acts of cruelty; yet he was an excellent magistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the prosperity of his country. To the internal economy of his government, he paid a rigid attention; and by his judicious and prudent arrangements, aided by the exertions of some very able officers, he cleared his dominions from the remains of a nest of banditti which had long infested and disgraced them. His conduct with regard to his neighbours, the Rohillas, was on every account the most exceptionable; and his hostile attempt to destroy their power evidently originated from a spirit of

ambition, boundless as inordinate and reprehensible: nor can his endeavours to extenuate his conduct by throwing the blame on the impolitic obstinacy of the Rohillas in refusing to discharge the stipulated sum, in any shape justify the means he used to effect their destruction.*

---

* In the above detail it has been the author's intention to be guided by the strictest impartiality, neither wishing to exalt too high the character of any individual who merited praise, nor to abstain from censure when it appeared deserving.

CHAPTER V.

Return of the Captain General to Delhi—Accession of Asuf Al Dowla to the Government of Oude—Embassy of Illuj Khan to Delhi—Proceedings against Zabita Khan—Defeat of the King's Troops—Zabita Khan unites with the Sikhs—Succinct Account of that Nation—Occurrences.

Nujuff Khan, on his arrival at Delhi, met with a reception different from his expectations. The king was disgusted with him for not having insisted in a more resolute manner upon the delivery of the districts which had been stipulated in the late treaty with the vazir; and for omitting to urge his right to participate in the plunder acquired in the Rohilla war. Shah-Aulum, in fact, suspected his minister to have been influenced on this occasion more by an attention to his own interests than that of his sovereign, as the vazir, previous to his departure, publicly bestowed on Nujuff Khan the Neabut* of the vazarut. The suspicion was diligently fostered in the king's mind by the suggestions of Majd Al Dowla, who now began to acquire an ascendency over his majesty; and being jealous of the authority and influence of Nujuff Khan, resolved to oppose him in everything. The minister had long entertained hopes of that very appointment; but, baffled

* The deputyship of the office of vazir; or his representative at the court of Delhi.

in his exertions to attain it, he represented his rival as a person desirous of advancing his own authority over that of his master. Nujuff Khan, however, had too powerful a party at court, as well as in the camp, to be easily supplanted; and the war against the Jauts requiring immediate attention, his majesty appeared satisfied with the excuses offered by Nujuff Khan.

The army again assembled, and the captain general led it without delay against the fort of Deig, the only place of consequence that remained to the Jauts. Nujuft Khan having invested the fort on all sides, and completed the blockade, detached a small portion from his main body throughout the adjacent country, and reduced many of the zemindars to obedience.

While the army lay before Deig, an embassy arrived in camp, sent by the vazir Asuff Al Dowla. That young prince, who succeeded to the Musnud of Shujaa o Dowla, was eighteen years of age. On his accession, it was deemed advisable to request of Shah-Aulum a confirmation of his patent of the vazarut in his own name. For this purpose, Illuj Khan, a favourite servant, was deputed to Delhi, attended by a splendid suite, and carrying with him fifty lacks of rupees as a paishcush. After a short stay in the camp, he proceeded on to the capital, where his success at first fell short of his expectations. The king did not appear inclined to expedite the patent; and, under various pretences, delayed giving a direct answer.—But a severe misfortune which at this time befell his majesty's arms, caused an immediate and ready assent. Zabita Khan

had again become refractory, and refused to forward the stipulated tribute to the royal treasury; and was now prepared to support his rebellion by force of arms. Abdul Cassem Khan, on the part of the king, was ordered to march an army to attack the rebel. Zabita Khan, who was posted in Ghous Gurh, hearing of that nobleman's approach, marched boldly out, and offered him battle. A desperate conflict ensued, and the event was on the point of proving favourable to the royal forces, when a body of Pathan horse, who had been planted in an ambuscade by Zabita Khan at the commencement of the action, came suddenly out of the place, and fell upon the rear of the king's troops with such fury as totally to discomfit them. The general was slain whilst endeavouring to rally his men; and his fall threw the troops into such disorder, that it was with great difficulty Majd Al Dowla, who succeeded to the command, was enabled to make good his retreat with a very small party. Zabita Khan re-entered his fort in triumph.

Accounts of this fatal disaster arriving at court, created the greatest consternation and dismay. Fortunately, however, for Shah-Aulum, at this critical moment he was relieved by the appearance of Lataufut Khan, one of the vazir's officers, who brought along with him a body of 5,000 troops and a train of artillery, for the king's use. This salutary aid proved of the highest service; and being relieved from any apprehensions for the present, the court determined to gratify the vazir for the essential service he had rendered. A patent was immediately made out, accompanied with

the insignia of office and valuable presents; and the whole were sent off with much pomp and solemnity under the charge of four commissioners named by the king for this express purpose.

During these transactions, Nujuff Khan was still employed before Deig: that fortress, which was uncommonly strong and defended by a numerous garrison, continued for more than twelve months to bid defiance to the efforts of Nujuff Khan. The repeated and bloody assaults which were made by the garrison, had, however, much weakened their force, and the health of the Jaut prince beginning to decline, he entertained thoughts of submission; but before he had time to execute his resolution, he was hurried off by death. Runjeet Singh, his brother, succeeded to the command: he was willing to continue the defence to the last extremity; but provisions growing scarce, his troops mutinied, and he was compelled to withdraw privately from the fort.

Accordingly, availing himself of the opportunity of an extreme dark night, and taking with him his family and treasures, accompanied by the greater part of the garrison, he effected his escape. On the ensuing morning, the king's troops, who were prepared for an assault, were astonished to find the walls unmanned, and no appearance of resistance. The general at first suspected a stratagem; but, on a closer inspection, perceiving the rebels had actually retired, he entered and took possession.

A great quantity of ammunition and stores, with a train of artillery, were taken, but not much plunder, which circumstance exasperated the troops, and induced

them to commit all sorts of violence upon the defenceless inhabitants. Not content with insulting them, they proceeded to attack their Pagodas, where they broke and demolished the idols, in spite of the prayers and entreaties urged by the poor wretches on behalf of their altars. On the capture of Deig, all the remaining part of the Jaut country submitted; and as heavy fines were imposed by the general upon the different zemindars, he continued to fill his treasury, which enabled him to discharge the arrears of his troops; at the same time he ordered a general rejoicing throughout the camp.

The embassy afore-mentioned arriving at the same time, Nujuff Khan availed himself on the occasion to shew his respect to the vazir, by entertaining the commissioners in the most splendid manner. He feasted them for several days, and then dismissed them with additional presents.

The conquest of the Jauts being now complete, Nujuff Khan directed his attention to the collection of the revenues, and in reforming the abuses which had prevailed during the war. But in the midst of his arrangements, he was suddenly called off by letters received from Delhi, which required his immediate presence at that city. Zabita Khan, whose success, as already related, had inflamed his resentment and excited his ambition, was resolved to persist in his rebellion, and actually threatened Delhi with a siege. Previous, however, to proceeding to open hostilities, he augmented his army, and took into his pay large bodies of Sikhs.

He formed, moreover, connections with some of the principal chiefs of that nation; and, in order to render this alliance the more effectual, he embraced the tenets of this extraordinary sect, and became a convert to their faith. The part which the Sikhs have borne in the transactions of later times in the upper parts of Hindostaun, justify an attempt to describe their origin and progressive advancement to authority in the empire.

During the reigns of Akbar, Jehangire, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeeb, the annals of Hindostaun exhibit a series of events and brilliant actions which raised the empire to the first station in the history of Asia. Emulating the conduct of their founder, the great Timoor, those princes, whilst they trod in his steps, rendered their dominion flourishing and their people happy, and the power of that august family appeared established on so solid a basis as to bid defiance to the fluctuating and capricious changes of fortune; but the seeds of dissolution and decay were internally generated even in the height of their prosperity; and the indolence, folly and effeminacy, of the princes of later times, overthrew the fabric of power, and buried the authority of the house of Timoor under its ruins. Out of the shipwreck of its former grandeur, several new and independent states arose. To the Sikhs, among others, may be assigned an interesting station; obscure in their origin, in a remote part of the province of Lahore, this tribe had nothing but novelty to recommend itself or attract notice.

In the reign of the Emperor Baber, Nanak Shah founder of the tribe, was born at a small village, named

Tulbindee, in the province of Lahore; at an early period of life, this extraordinary person, who possessed a good capacity and amiable manners, forsook the world, and devoted himself to a life of religious austerity. In this recluse state, aided by the effusions of a fervid imagination, Nanak framed a system of religion, composed from the speculative and contemplative theories of Mussulman divinity, which he delivered to his numerous followers as of divine origin. This book he termed Granth, which, in the Punjabee dialect, implies scriptural. Nanak, after reaching his nintieth year, expired peaceably, and was buried at Amritsar, where his tomb to the present day attracts the attention, and animates the piety, of his numerous disciples. He left two children, Laksmi Dass and Sree Chand.

At his death, Nanak Shah, with a view to render permanent his new system, ordained that the succession should be elective and not hereditary, an ordination, which, as it precluded the supreme authority from remaining in one family, placed the benevolent and disinterested views of the founder in a light truly amiable. Sree Chand, who found means to secure his election, presided over the tribe for several years, and, at his death, Angadjee succeeded. But this custom, though it obtained for some time, was at length set aside, and Gooroo Ram was the first who established an hereditary succession.

The tribe continuing to increase by the vast number of converts which it had acquired, had not hitherto attracted the notice of the neighbouring powers; occu-

pied in paying a scrupulous adherence to the laws and ordinations of their founder, the Sikhs were looked upon as harmless, inoffensive devotees; but the period was at hand when they were to act a different part, and to contend with vigour against imperial authority. Teigh Bahadur, whose actions and misfortunes render his name memorable, was the first who took up arms against the officers of Aurangzeeb, till after many bloody encounters with the king's troops, he was at length overcome, taken prisoner, and put to death. His successors, animated by revenge, continued a predatory war with the descendants of Aurangzeeb, and, during the struggle, the Sikhs acquired a considerable addition of territory. Among the most memorable of these chiefs, was Bandah, who, after a long and severe contest, was taken prisoner, carried to Delhi, and there suffered with heroic fortitude an ignominious death.*

In the reign of Ahmad Shah, the tribe became very formidable. Profiting by the disturbances which then prevailed in every part of the empire, the Sikhs again made head against the government, and with far better success. They conquered the whole of the Punjab, (or country included within the five rivers which fall into the Indus) and even pushed their arms beyond it.

In the last reign (Aulum Geer the Second), their dominions were bounded on the west by the country of Cabul, and extended eastward to the vicinity of Delhi,

* See a particular account of this enterprising chief in Captain Scott's second volume of the History of Deccan. Article *Furrok Seer*.

north by a range of high mountains, and to the south-west they embraced the province of Multan and the city of Tatta, situated on the banks of the Indus. Lahore, the capital of Punjab, was selected as their chief city of residence, and as such has since continued. They possess many large towns, and among the principal are those of Puttiala, Hurrial, Loeh Gurh, Serhind, Shahabad, and Thanesser. The Sikh territories are said to contain prodigious quantities of cattle, horses, oxen, cows, and sheep; and grain of various kinds is produced in abundance. The precious metals are very scarce; and their trade is for that reason chiefly carried on by barter, specially in the manufacturing towns.

At Pattiala they make excellent cloth, and fire arms superior to most parts of Hindostaun. The collected force of the Sikhs is immense, they being able to bring into the field an army of 250,000* men, a force appa-

* The following table, which was delivered to the author by a Sikh chief when at Paneepat in 1793-4, will exhibit the situation of the different chiefs at that period:

	Men.
Beejee Sing	12,000
Tanah Sing	22,000
Jessah Sing	14,000
Kurrun Sing (of Shahabad)	12,000
Jessah Sing (of Ramghur)	12 000
Jundut Sing (of Amrit Sar)	24,000
Khosal Sing (of Fuzoolah Pore)	22,000
Hari Sing (on the confines of Multan) ...	40,000
Ranjit Sing (of Loeh Gurh)	70,000
Shahur Sing (of Pattiala), Loll Sing, Juswaunt Sing (of Nabha), Gujput Sing (of Chanda), and other chiefs.	20,000
Total	248,000

rently terrific, but, from want of union among themselves, not much to be dreaded by their neighbours. Divided into distinct districts, each chief rules over the portion appropriated to him with uncontrolled sway; and tenacious of his authority, and jealous of his brethren, it seldom happens that this nation makes an united offort.*

The Sikhs are armed with a spear, scimitar, and excellent matchlock. Their horses are strong, very patient under hardship, and undergo incredible fatigue. The men are accustomed to charge on full gallop, on a sudden they stop, discharge their pieces with a deliberate aim, when suddenly wheeling about, after performing three or four turns, they renew the attack. The shock is impressive when offered only to infantry but against artillery they cannot stand. It is a fact well known and established, that a few field-pieces are sufficient to keep in check their most numerous bodies. Inured from their infancy to the hardships of a military life, the Sikhs are addicted to predatory warfare, in a manner peculiar to themselves alone. When determined to invade a neighbouring province, they assemble at first

* The alarm once excited in the British government of the formidable power of this nation, might be obviated by observing that the discordant and clashing interests of the respective Sikh chiefs prevent almost the possibility of a general union; and even if disposed to attack the territory of our ally, the vazir, they would be necessitated to keep a watchful eye over their own territories, which would be left epen to invasion from the north. It is well known that Zemaun Shah, the king of Cabul, is desirous of sharing in the fertile province of Punjab, and specially of getting possession of Lahore, emphatically termed the key of Hindostaun. His late attack at the end of 1796, is a proof of this assertion.

in small numbers on the frontier, when having first demanded the *raki* or tribute, if it be complied with, they retire peaceably ; but when this is denied, hostilities commence, and the Sikhs, in their progress, are accustomed to lay waste the country on all sides, carrying along with them as many of the inhabitants as they can take prisoners, and all the cattle. The prisoners are detained as slaves, unless redeemed by a pecuniary compensation.—But though fond of plunder, the Sikhs, in the interior parts of their country, preserve good order, and a regular government : and the cultivation of their lands is attended with much assiduity. Their revenues are collected at two stated periods of six months each ; and by an equitable adjustment between the proprietor and cultivator, the latter is allowed a fifth part as the reward of his labour.

Of their religion much information has not as yet been acquired ; but it has been remarked by an ingenious and spirited historian, that in the act of receiving proselytes, they compel them to the performance of an act equally abhorrent to the principles of the Hindoo or Mahommedan faith.* Yet, notwithstanding the nature of their ceremonies, it is certain they continue to gain numerous converts.

The Sikhs, in their persons, are tall, and of a manly erect deportment ; their aspect is ferocious, their eyes piercing and animated ; and in tracing their features

* By obliging the Mussulmaun to drink water, in which some Sikhs have washed their feet, mixed with hog's blood, and the Hindoo with that of a cow. See Captain Scott. Vol. II, Article *Furrok Seer*.

a striking resemblance is observable to the Arabs who inhabit the banks of the Euphrates. The dress of the males consists of a coarse cloth of blue cotton, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and coming down between the legs, is confined round the waist by a belt of cotton. An ample turban of blue cloth covers the head, and over this is frequently worn a sash of silk and cotton mixed, resembling both in colour and pattern a *Scotch Tartan.* They speak the Aufghaun or Pooshto language, with prolific additions of Persian, Arabic, and Hindoovee *

From this digression let us proceed to relate the transactions at court. Shah-Aulum, who was enraged at Zabita Khan for his repeated acts of insolence and disrespect, resolved to take the field in person, and had for this purpose, as above remarked, ordered the captain general from Deig. On the minister's arrival, the king marched out and encamped.

At a secret conference held on the occasion, it was resolved, previous to commencing hostilities, to make

* In the year 1793-4, the author was at Paneeput in company with Major Charles Reynolds of the Bombay establishment employed by the British Government on a survey through the Doo Ab; the result of which, when communicated to the public. will no doubt prove a valuable addition to the geography already acquired. At that time he saw a body of Sikhs then in the service of the great Sindiah; they were about one thousand in number, under the command of Doolchee Sing, from whose brother most of the information above-mentioned was received. The author has to apologise for giving a sketch so imperfect, though he is happy to learn there is another and far better account already before the public from the late Colonel James Browne, of the Bengal establishment, but which account the author has not seen. The account here given stands merely on his own researches.

one effort to persuade the rebel to return to his duty; though, had a retrospect of his former conduct been taken, they would have foreseen the insufficiency of any but resolute measures. Agreeably to this resolve, Raja Dayaram, Himmut Bahadur, and Latafut, were sent to Sahaurunpore to treat and offer terms; but for fear of an unsuccessful issue, the king and the general followed with the army. The deputation at first gave hopes of a peaceful termination. A conference took place between the captain general, Majd Al Dowla, and Zabita Khan; but, unhappily, a misunderstanding arose, which proceeded to violent altercation on both sides. Whether Zabita Khan, who was of a turbulent and haughty spirit, could not brook the manner of the king's ministers, who talked in a high strain, or whether he was determined at all events on resistance, has not been clearly ascertained. From whatever cause it arose, he was observed as he came out of the tent to be uncommonly agitated; and, without wating for the ministers to accompany and introduce him, repaired directly to the royal tent. Having paid his respects to the king, he withdrew to his own camp; and suddenly, without assigning any reason for such a conduct, struck his tents and went into fort. Notwithstanding so glaring and insolent a conduct, the king did not proceed to the immediate punishment of the rebel. On the contrary, he was persuaded, through the mediation of Latafut, who, it is asserted, was bribed largely on the occasion, to pardon him. Zabita Khan was, therefore, invited to court, and, on promising submission, was again confirmed in his government of Sahaurunpore. The army returned to Delhi.

CHAPTER VI.

Revolt of the Rajah of Jypore—Succinct Account of the Principalities of Oudipore—Joudpore and Jypore—The King marches to Jypore—Taking of Narnoul and Dhansney—Disgrace of Majd Al Dowla—Death of Prince Furkhunda Bukht—Death and Character of Nujuff Khan.

On the return of the royal army to Delhi, Nujuff Khan, who had lately been appointed to the government of Agra, repaired to that province: about this time news arrived at court of the death of Madho Sing, ruler of Jypore, and of the accession of Pertaub Sing, a youth of twelve years of age, to his father's government. The considerable share which this prince bore in the transactions of the court of Delhi, justify our taking a retrospective view of the provinces of Oudipore, Joudpore, and Jypore, or the countries denominated by geographers Rajpootana.*

When the Moguls first entered Hindostaun, they found the inhabitants in general effeminate and luxurious, and, in consequence, incapable of opposing with effect those hardy bands who at first under Zengis Khan, and afterwards his descendant, the Great Timoor, acquired a succession of conquests, and finally laid the foundation of the Mogul empire in Hindostaun in the person of Baber, sixth in descent from Timoor.

* Consult the excellent memoir of a map of Hindostaun by by Major Rennel.

But however competent to overturn the Pathan government, they found it more difficult to subdue the great Rajpoot principalities.—The princes of those countries, who were the aboriginal sovereigns of Hindostaun, inherited from their ancestors a high and warlike spirit, which, added to the natural advantages of their situation, in countries surrounded by high mountains and intersected by narrow vallies and numerous defiles, rendered hazardous a foreign invasion. The Rajpoot princes therefore continued long to resist with effect the valour and discipline of the Mogul troops ; and the different sovereigns of the house of Timoor, after repeated, but ineffectul, struggles to reduce them by force, were in the end necessitated to adopt a methed more conciliatory. The first princes of the race of Timoor not only invited them to the capital, and heaped upon them honours and dignities of all kinds, but were accustomed to intermarry with their families, a circumstance, which, if the tenacious adherence of the Hindoos to preserve their blood pure and uncontaminated be considered, would appear disgraceful ; but an alliance with the sovereign was, among the Hindoos, deemed honourable by the ancient usages of their country.

The great acquisition of interest thus obtained by the Rajpoot princes, the security of their possessions, and, above all, the prospect of their descendants mounting the throne, were motives that insured a cheerful acquiescence in the proposed alliances, and abated their ardent love of independence, and contributed to render them contented in their tributary state. Accordingly,

during the reigns of Jehangire, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeeb, the Rajpoot princes, were gradually allied to royal blood.*

Rajpootana†, or country of the Rathore Rajpoots, in the imperial register, is included in the province of Ajmere. From Jypore, one of the principal cities, it extends 168 coses§ to its north-western boundary of Bekaneer, a city which skirts the confines of the desert; to the eastward it extends 150 coses, and is bounded on that quarter by Agra; west by the city of Debalpore, on the banks of the Suttluj; and south by the province of Guzerat.

The principal river, the Puddar, rises in the mountainous part of the country; and, after traversing a vast extent, is discharged into the sea, near the Gulf of Kutch.

Within the afore-mentioned tract are the cities of Oudipore, Joudpore, and Jypore, including the strong fortresses of Cheitore and Rintimpore; the former memorable for resisting the arms of the emperor Akbar; and the latter for having afforded an asylum to the families of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeeb, when in rebellion against their parents. These countries abound in cotton, opium, indigo, tobacco, and grain of various kinds, most of which articles are exported to Ahmada-

---

* See Dow's Hindostann—*Passim*.

† In this description, the author has availed himself of a Persian *MS.* entitled *Hudeeka Al Akaleem*, or a geographical account of several of the principal cities and provinces of Hindostaun. It is written by a learned native, and contains much curious and useful information.

§ Coss is equal to two British miles.

dad, the capital of Guzerat, which returns the manufactures of Europe and Persia. They have also a breed of excellent horses, which are in general use among the Marhatta armies. While the empire flourished, the revenues of the Ajmere province were estimated at twenty-six millions ; and the different Rajahs, when united, could bring into the field an army of 200,000 men, a force truly formidable, and which proved frequently fatal to the Mogul princes, even in the zenith of their power and authority. To conclude our remarks on this singular people, in the words of a spirited historian*, "their situation enabled them to retaliate "injuries in the center of the empire ; but attached "to their soil, as ground on which their deities as well "as their ancestors had lived, few of their princes had "been ambitious of increasing their territory."

Towards the close of the last century, Jysing, a prince no less celebrated for his warlike talents than for his reputation as a philosopher and a cultivator of the arts, founded the modern city of Jypore, which he called Jynagghar. It is situated in the central parts of Rajpootanah, and about 140 miles west of Agra. The town is handsome and well built : the houses are of stone, and the streets, which are large and spacious, intersect each other at right angles. A citadel, which commands the town, is built upon a steep rock, around which extends a chain of fortifications four miles in circumference. In the town is to be seen an ovservatory erected by the prince afore-mentioned, to which,

* Orme's Historical Fragments.

during his lifetime, many eminent and learned men were invited, where the science of astronomy was assiduously cultivated.

This city has of late years increased in commerce and opulence; for, since the communication through the province of Lahore has been stopped by the Sikhs, the merchants from the north have been accustomed to enter Hindostaun by the route of Jypore. Rock salt, iron, and copper, are found in the province; and its revenues are estimated at five millions sterling.

The inhabitants are wholly Hindoos; and their manners are represented by travellers to be hospitable and unaffected. Since the death of Jysing, who may be considered as the founder of the present family, there has been a succession of four princes* Pertaub Sing, who, as already remarked, was a minor in the hands of his guardians, from inexperience was incapable of governing and entirely under the guidance of others. During the late disturbances his ministers taking advantage of the absence of the royal army, had neglected to send to court the customary tribute, which Shah-Alum was determined to punish. He accordingly assembled the army, the command of which was given to the Nawaub Majd Al Dowla. This nobleman, eager to gratify his own ambition, had long beheld with impatience the authority of Nujuff Khan: he thought the present opportunity favourable to his views; and the absence of the capatain general, who was employed in the Agra province, gave him hopes of establish-

* Jysing Sewaii, Alseri Sing, Pirthi Sing, Madho Sing.

ing his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign, and by the reduction of the Jypore country fix himself in power without control.

The army being assembled, Majd Al Dowla, accompanied by the king, marched against Rewari, a large town in the dominions of Pertaub Sing. The place after a short resistance submitted, as did also the forts of Narnoul and Dhansney. The success of these operations induced Majd Al Dowla to carry the king to a greater distance, and to propose to his majesty to extend his circuit through the provinces of Ajmere, under pretext of paying his devotions at the shrine of a Mahomedan saint. This plan which was to separate the king from Nujuff Khan, would in ali probability have succeeded, had not a circumstance occurred which baffled his schemes, and led in the end to important consequences. Nujuff Khan, hearing of the late successes, and perceiving the increased influence of Majd Al Dowla, ventured on a personal visit to the royal camp ; and, leaving the care of Agra to his friend Mahomed Beg Khan, he began his march towards Jypore. The ministers of Pertaub Sing, after the losses afore-mentioned finding further resistance vain, now made overtures of submission in the name of their master, and a negotiation accordingly commenced. A large paishcush was offered on the part of the young Rajah, and professions of loyalty and attachment in his future conduct. Pending this treaty, Nujuff Khan, who was informed of the circumstance, resolved it should not be terminated until his own arrival. He, therefore, dispatched an express to the king, requesting that the treaty should ont be

concluded without him ; and, on his own authority, forbade the Jypore Vakeel to proceed any farther in the affair. Commands dictated in terms so forcible had the desired effect, and Shah-Aulum was compelled to acquaint Majd Al Dowla of his acquiescence in the demands of his rival.

In a few days, the army of Nujuff Khan arrived in the neigbourhood of the royal camp, and, to do the general honour, his majesty sent his third son, the Prince Yezdan Bukht, to meet and conduct him to the presence. A private conference was held on the occasion, and Majd Al Dowla was convinced that the authority of his rival was too powerful to be overthrown. Pertaub Sing was now ordered to repair to the royal camp, and, on presenting an offering of five lacks of rupees, received his majesty's pardon, and was restored to the government of the Jypore province. The army then returned to Delhi, where Nujuff Khan, soon after his arrival, celebrated the nuptials of his youngest daughter with the Nawaub Nujuff Cooly Khan. The marriage was honoured by the king's presence, and in a few days after Nujuff Khan returned to Agra.

During the remainder of the current year, little occurred at Delhi worthy of notice ; but the ensuing season exhibited a new scene of action, and occasioned a considerable alteration on the face of affairs at court. The Sikhs, who for several years had confined themselves to their own territories, now suddenly appeared in great numbers on the frontiers. A great force under different leaders having assembled, entered the king's territories, and commenced their usual course of plunder and



MAJD UD DOWLAH

devastation. Thy soon penetrated as far as Karnal, a large city 100 miles north of the capital. Of this they took possession, and dispersed their parties in various directions to overrun the province of Delhi. To repel this daring invasion Majd Al Dowla, accompanied by Farkhunda Bakht, a prince of the royal family, were ordered to take the field. Twenty thousand men, with a respectable train of artillery, were soon ready to march. Advancing by easy marches along the western bank of the river Jumna, the royal army reached Karnal without interruption. At this place Runjeet Sing and Deo Sing, two of the principal leaders of the Sikhs, dispatched a vakeel to camp with offers of submission. They promised a peshcush of three lacks of rupees, and to recall their associates from their predatory incursions. Majd Al Dowla acquiescing in the proposal, those chiefs were directed to attend the royal army in its future progress. Accordingly, having evacuated the town of Karnal, they joined the minister. From Karnal, Majd Al Dowla advanced to Pattiala, a town 60 coses north of the latter, and situated on the Sikh frontier. That place was defended by Amar Sing, who with a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, resolved to sustain a siege. Amar Sing had, however, other motives for resistance ; he was aware that a large reinforcement of Sikhs had left Lahore, and might shortly be expected at Pattiala ; nor was he without hope that even in the event of their non-arrival, and the town being hard pressed, but that he should be able to gain over the minister to his views, by the aid of all-powerful gold. However this might have been, Majd

Al Dowla besieged the place in form ; but many days had not elapsed, when it was announced to the army, that a negotiation for peace was in train. Amar Sing consenting to become tributary, commissioners were appointed on both sides to draw up an amicable treaty. The conferences accordingly commenced ; but an act of treachery on the part of the Sikhs, and in which it was suspected the minister had a considerable share, suddenly dissolved the meeting. To relate with precision the circumstances which led to this breach of faith, we must recollect that the Sikh chieftains, who had submitted at Karnal, were still in the royal camp. They, having received advice of the expected reinforcement of their countrymen being near at hand, sent notification of it to Amar Sing ; at the same time advising that chief by some means or other to break off the treaty then pending.

Agreeably to this information, Amar Sing exhibited to the commissioners many shuffling evasions and pretexts; and to this was added an haughty and contemptuous behaviour, which could not be mistaken. Rajah Dayaram, the chief commissioner, perceiving his drift, quitted the town of Pattiala, and with his associates returned to camp.

Meanwhile the traitors there endeavoured by studied respect to preclude all suspicion of their fidelity in the mind of the minister. Majd Al Dowla said nothing; and his shameful supineness on this occasion in suffering the insults sustained by the royal commissioners at Pattiala to pass unnoticed, afforded additional proofs of his collusion in the disgraceful scene. Early on the

following morning, Runjeet Sing and his associate suddenly left the camp: a party was directed to go in pursuit of them; this party had scarcely cleared the advanced posts of the army, when they discovered the van guard of an immense host of Sikhs, who by forced marches had advanced thus far unnoticed. At the same instant Amar Sing, of Pattiala, issuing out of the fort, covered the retreat of the traitors, and with them shortly after joined the troops from Lahore. The Sikhs now made a violent attack on all sides: accustomed to a desultory mode of warfare, they charged the line in several parts at once, and by the fierceness of their onset, threw the king's troops into confusion. The whole army would now have been sacrificed had not the officer who commanded in the rear, by a well-directed fire of his artillery, given a timely check to the enemy. The king's troops were, however, compelled to retire; and for four days made a disgraceful and disorderly retreat. On the fifth day, the army reached Paneeput, under the walls of which they encamped. Here the Sikhs quitted them; and unsatiated with success, and fiercely thirsting for plunder, they divided into separate columns, and crossing the Jumna, spread themselves over the upper parts of the Doo Ab, commiting everywhere acts of cruelty, devastation, and death.

The late disgraceful scenes had excited in the army universal indignation against Majd Al Dowla. On him the eyes of all men were bent: and numbers scrupled not openly to accuse him of having been bribed by the Sikhs to betray the king's interests, and

devote his army to utter ruin. If, indeed, it be considered that a finer and better appointed army never marched from Delhi, that they were flushed with recent successes, and animated by the presence of a prince of the blood; that this army should be incompetent to sustain the shock of a tumultuous rabble, appeared incredible in the eyes of all men, and proved the reproaches thrown on the minister to be strictly merited. Even after the enemy had retired, instead of remaining on the frontier to recover his soldiers from their late depression, he, as if panic struck, marched precipitately to the capital, thereby leaving the whole country exposed in his rear, and the wretched inhabitants a prey to the ravages of those barbarous invaders. But he was soon to receive a punishment adequate to his desserts.

Intelligence of this disastrous event arriving at Delhi, consternation and dismay seized on all. The king was highly incensed at the base conduct af Majd Al Dowla; and to prevent further ill consequenccs, required the immediate attendance of the captain genaral. It was indeed high time for some effectual interference. On one hand the Sikhs were filling the Doo Ab with outrage and devastation, while on the other several of the zemindars, availing themselves of the confusion of the times, rose in arms, in many parts of the country.

The minister, who by this time had reached Delhi, on his arrival laboured incessantly to remove from the king's mind all suspicion of his fidelity. He entered into a long defence of his conduct, wherein he attempt-

ed to prove that the late disaster was imputable not to his want of attachment, but to the common accidents of war; that for himself he had ever been one of the foremost in zeal and exertion for his majesty's service.

Shah-Aulum, who was not in a condition as yet to refute the arguments of his minister (that nobleman's guards having possession of the palace), apparently accepted his apologies; but the sequel inclined all thinking persons to conclude, that the king was in his own mind resolved on his disgrace. It must here be remembered that Mujd Al Dowla, from his extensive influence at court, had a strong party in his favour in the army; that he, moreover, was in possession of the king's person and the citadel, and therefore resolved to oppose his enemies by force of arms. It was justly feared that the contention between the rival chiefs would, to the citizens of Delhi, be attended with considerable mischief, if not of bloodshed.

These alarms, however, were happily subdued by the conduct and dexterity of the captain general, who was now on his way to the capital. By means of his emissaries, dispersed throughout the city, he, by large bribes and promises of preferment, drew over to his own views the leading chiefs of the minister's party. Secure on this head, he hesitated not to carry his designs into instant execution.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood, the prince Furkhunda Bukht and Majd Al Dowla were ordered to meet and conduct the captain general to court. Prior to Majd Al Dowla's quitting the citadel, he received information of the intended combination against him.

He was told of the designs of his enemies to seize him, and of the king's acquiescence and secret indignation towards him: finally, they recommended him to be upon his guard; and, in the strongest manner, urged him to remain within the citadel, where, with the force he possessed, he might bid defiance to the united efforts of his enemies. Staggered at the unexpected intelligence, the minister for a moment paused. But impelled by an unaccountable infatuation, he relied on the king's personal favour, and, maugre the entreaties of his friends, resolved to go on.

Scarcely had the prince's retinue quitted the city, when Afrasiab Khan, a young soldier of fortune, who had been bred in the camp and in the family of Zulficar Al Dowla, at the head of 500 horse, seized on the gate; thence proceeding to the citadel, he compelled the garrison, who had been stationed there by Majd Al Dowla, to lay down their arms and evacute the fort. Tney obeyed: the spirited youth then took possession for Shah-Aulum in the name of his benefactor. The king having takeh no notice of this transaction, it was supposed his majesty was apprised of the whole plan prior to its execution.

By this time the Prince and Majd Al Dowla had reached the camp of the captain general. After a few complimentary ceremonies, the minister was informed that he was no more to visit the king. Perceiving his disgrace inevitable, he begged leave to return to his palace in the city. This was allowed, but a guard was sent along with him: and shortly after, the whole of his property, amounting to more than twenty lacks of

rupees, was seized and confiscated to the use of the captain general.

In a court so fruitful of revolutions as Delhi, the removal or death of a minister is in general viewed by the poople with perfect apathy and indifference : yet on this occasion, Majd Al Dowla's conduct in the late expedition had excited a disgust among all ranks : which, added to his former acts of rapacity and oppression to supply the extravagance of the court, altogether rendered his disgrace justly merited.

Zulficar Al Dowlah, on his presentation at court, was received by Shah-Aulum with marks of the most affectionate respect. In return, he made an offering of four lacks of rupees, together with some beautiful Persian horses for the use of the king's stable. The palace of the late vazir, Cummur Aldeen Khan, was assigned for the residence of the new minister, who from henceforth determined to fix his residence at Delhi.

The dismissal of Majd Al Dowla from all his employments occasioned some alterations in the arrangement of offices. At the recommendation of the captain general, the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht was made superintendant of the bathing apartments ; prince Furkhunda Bukht, Meer Atush, or Grand Master of Artillery ; and his majesty honoured the captain general himself with the high office of Vakeel Mutluck, or Absolute Director General of the affairs of the empire.

The commencement of 1781 was taken up in preparations for punishing the Sikhs. That lawless banditti were still ravaging the upper parts of the Doo Ab.

To chastise them, Mirza Shuffee Khan, a young nobleman, who possessed great military experience, was detached from the capital with a body of twelve thousaud men, and a suitable train of artillery. After crossing the Jumna he went in quest of the enemy: and after several ineffectual skirmishes and a desultory warfare, he at last brought them to a general and decisive action.

On the 15th of August, under the walls of Meerut, he attacked them with great gallantry and spirit: the king's troops, stimulated by the remembrance of their disgrace the preceding year, and burning for revenge, exerted on this occasion their utmost efforts to make an honourable amend. Success crowned their wishes in a total overthrow of the enemy with a terrible slaughter. Sahib Sing, their leader, with several other commanders of note, were slain on the spot, and upwards of 5,000 men. Dispirited at this loss, the Sikhs returned in the utmost confusion, crossed the Jumna with precipitation, and finally took refuge in their own territories which afforded relief to the miserable inhabitants over whom, for the space of several months, they had exercised the most uncontrolled and unbounded severity.

After the victory, Mirza Shuffee Khan humanely directed his attention to the distresses of the inhabitants; and to afford them solid proofs of his benevolent intentions, he, in the name of his majesty, granted them a remission of taxes for a year.

Order being once more restored, he returned in triumph to the capital. Had the advantages we have

above detailed been pursued with a vigour proportionate to the occasion, there is no doubt but the most substantial benefits would have accrued to the royal cause. The enemy were totally dispirited with their losses; and by natural consequence, were at variance with each other, and incapable of resistance. Here then was a most favourable opportunity afforded for extending the king's influence from the environs of his capital even to the Attock; and of establishing his authority on so secure and permanent a base as in future to have effectually precluded all attempts of his ambitious neighbours, or, what was to him of more consequence, to keep within bounds his own rebellious subjects.—Unfortunately for the state, these advantages were not followed up; nor could the prime minister be prevailed on to re-assemble the army for an invasion of the Punjab. He was now advancing in years, and had become indolent, to which it might be added the minister could not without jealousy behold the abilities and rising fortunes of Mirza Shuffee Khan. High spirited and active, that nobleman had gained the attachment of the soldiery in a very uncommon degree; and by acts of liberality and munificence, he was careful to confirm them in their sentiment.

Meanwhile, as the person most fit for the appointment, Mirza Shuffee was nominated to the command of the frontier station; and accordingly, having received his dismissal from the presence, attended by a considerable force, he repaired to the city of Panneeput.

About this time ambassadors from Lahore arrived at court.—They brought letters of submission from the

principal chiefs, which were accompanied by a large peshcush in money, and a promise of the payment in future of a regular tribute. The city of Karnal was likewise restored to the king; and the ambassadors, moreover, made a pecuniary compensation for the losses sustained in the late invasion.

Shah-Aulum now celebrated the nuptials of his second son, Prince Akbar Shah, with a princess of the royal family. The ceremony was performed with much splendour at the house of the minister, who took this opportunity of gratifying his master by bestowing liberal presents on the new-married pair.

Toward the latter end of the current year, died the Prince Furkhunda Bukht. His remains were interred in the mausoleum of Humaioon, the general repository of the ashes of the house of Timoor.*

The death of the prince was followed shortly after by that of the minister. He had been much afflicted for several preceding years with a severe rheumatic complaint. This was increased by a complication of other disorders occasioned by an irregular mode of life, which at length inflamed his humours to such a degree of acrimony as rendered life a burthen to him. In this deplorable state, he languished for several months, till in the month of April 1782, he expired in the palace of Safdar Jung, sincerely regretted by his sovereign, who visited him during his illness, and lamented by the inhabitants of Delhi, who loved and revered him. He was buried in the sepulchre of Ali Mardaun Khan.

Mirza Nujuff Khan Zulficar Al Dowla was a native

* *Vide* Appendix 1.

of Persia: by the mother's side, he claimed his descent from the royal house of Sefi, who, at the commencement of the present century, sat on the throne of Persia. When Nadir Shah usurped that government, he put under confinement all the relative branches of the royal family who remained. Among those were the mother of Nujuff Khan: she had two children, himself and a sister, named Khadeeja Sultaun.

In 1746, Mirza Mohssun, brother of Safdar Jung, Soobadar of Oude, was sent on an embassy to the Persian court. By his intercession, the family obtained their liberty; when the mother, preferring to remain in her native country, Mirza Mohssun carried back into Hindostaun Mirza Nujuff Khan and his sister, at that time about thirteen years old. This princess was shortly after married to her deliverer, and had by him one son, who, in process of time, became governor of Allahabad. In that station Mahmud Cooli Khan, the person above-mentioned, was by order of Shujaa-o-Dowla, most basely assassinated.*

Mirza Nujuff Khan, at the time of his nephew's decease, was likewise in the vazir's service.—But Shujaa, having taken an aversion to him, which most probably arose from an unworthy jealousy of his superior accomplishments, treated him in several instances with marked disrespect. The high spirit of Nujuff Khan could not brook these indignities, and accordingly, he quitted for ever the dominions of Oude.

In the year 1762, he repaired to Patna, where Cossim

*At the fort of Jelaulabad, about five miles distant from the city of Lucknow.

Ali Khan, Nabob of Bengal, at that time held his court. That prince taking Nujuff Khan into his service, he was promoted to the command of a body of Mogul horse. He was employed during the war that soon after broke out between the Sooba and the British government, and was present at the attack of Oudah Nulla, and other places; and on all occasions conducted himself with vigour, spirit, and gallantry.

On the defeat of Shujaa-o-Dowla at the memorable battle of Buxar, and the total ruin of the affairs of the unfortunate Cossim, Mirza Nujuff Khan, being unwilling to trust to the vazir's clemency, sought an asylum in Baghelcund. Here he remained until the treaty of Allahabad in 1765, when he was sent for by Shah-Aulum; and, at his recommendation, Lord Clive gave him a pension of two lacks of rupees, chargeable on the revenues of the Corah province.*

On his majesty's retreat from Allahabad, Nujuff Khan accompanied the court; and from that period he rose, as we have seen in the preceding pages, to the first offices and highest honours in the state.

Mirza Nujuff Khan, by his powerful influence, high military character, and unrelaxed attention to business, was well fitted to conduct the affairs of the empire with a vigorous and steady hand. He restored order and tranquillity to the almost-ruined provinces; and, by his wise administration, recruited in a considerable degree the exhausted finances.

Though continually surrounded by numerous and

* See the Reports of the Select Committee.

warlike enemies, the abilities of the captain-general were equal to the contest. By a steady and undeviating pursuit in his designs, he at length triumphed over all his enemies, and reaped the fruits of his well-earned labours by erecting for himself a noble principality. This, consisting of the province of Agra, of which was governor, the adjoining countries of Meerut and Macheri, the whole of the Jaut territories, and greater part of the Doo Ab, altogether yielding a revenue of two millions sterling. His establishment was magnificent and extensive; and he lived in a manner worthy a prince.

To great skill in military affairs, Nujuff Khan added the happy talent of being able to conciliate the attachment of his troops in an uncommon degree. The soldiers admired his patience under adversity, his affability, generosity, and manliness of spirit; and though, from a variety of circumstances, and the fluctuating changes incident to an Asiatic army, they were not unfrequently thrown into discontent, and sometimes even to mutiny, Nujuff Khan, on these critical occasions, never failed, by his address and dexterity, to pacify the most unruly without a diminution of his own authority.—A rare and fortunate example.

That no other person was equally capable to combine and keep together such a variety of discordant interests as the policy of an Eastern government ever exhibits, was effectually evinced in the examples of his successors.

Upon the whole, we may, with justice, ascribe to Nujuff Khan the character of an able statesman, a skilful commander, and a humane and benevolent man. Polite and affable in his manners to all persons, which is

indeed proverbial to his countrymen, he was generous to his dependants, and strictly just. His death was deservedly regretted by Shah-Aulum, who certainly owed to Mirza Nujuff Khan a situation more respectable than he had been before, or was hereafter, destined to experience.*

* The foregoing account of the family of Nujuff Khan is extracted from a Persian MS. in the author's possession; it is entitled *Khazanah Omrah*, or Biography of the Mogul Nobility, a work frequently mentioned by Oriental historians.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSACTIONS AT COURT SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF ZULFICAR AL DOWLA—AFRASIAB KHAN APPOINTED MINISTER—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE MOGUL LORDS—ELEVATION OF MIRZA SHUFFEE KHAN—INTRIGUES—HE IS ASSASSINATED BEFORE DEIG—RE-APPOINTMENT OF AFRASIAB KHAN—REFLECTIONS.

Until Nujuff Khan's death, affairs at court, though at times interrupted by temporary dissensions and disagreements betwixt the Mogul nobles, had, by the active vigilance of the captain-general, been amicably settled. But their turbulent spirit, however, restrained during his life-time, now broke forth with a fury which was totally ungovernable. Hence, in the sequel of this history, we shall be reduced to the painful necessity of recording scenes of violence, anarchy, and bloodshed. Shah-Aulum advancing in years, and destitute of that energy and vigour of mind so necessary to stem the torrent, was compelled, as occasions demanded to yield to its force, and the unhappy king, in the evening of life, had the mortification to perceive his authority, totally annihilated, and himself became a wretched pageant in the hands of his rebellious subjects.

Among the principal competitors for power was Afrasiab Khan. This young soldier, bred in the camp, and under the eye of the late captain-general, had by his military talents acquired the affections of the army. He was nominated to the post of Ameer Al Omrah.

His first attention was judiciously directed to secure the attachment of the different Mogul chiefs. Among these Mirza Shuffee Khan was one of the most powerful; his late success against the Sikhs, and his situation in command of the frontiers, induced the minister to treat him with extraordinary attention. Afrasiab Khan, therefore, sent letters to that nobleman, expressive of the utmost cordiality, and recommended his vigilant attention to his charge on the frontiers. Similar letters were sent to the Nawaub Zabita Khan, ruler of Saharunpore. The new minister being popular in the army, and a man of acknowledged resolution, it was thought he would have secured a continuation of his authority; but an opposition which arose totally unexpected by him from an opposite quarter, not only for the present deprived him of his authority, but even brought him to the very brink of ruin.

To trace the cause of this opposition, we must recur to the situation of the family of the deceased minister. Nujuff Khan's sister, the Princess Khadeeja Sultaun, was at this time at Delhi, possessed of great wealth; and being a woman of a masculine and intriguing spirit, she boldly entered into the politics of the times, and resolved to form a party of her own. She had conceived a great aversion to Afrasiab Khan, who had treated her with disrespect, and knowing the ambition of Mirza Shuffee, selected that nobleman as a counterpoise against the minister's influence. Khadeeja Sultaun, therefore, in concert with Zein Al Abideen Khan, his brother, and other lords, whom she had gained over to her views, invited Mirza Shuffee to march to Delhi, and

take upon himself the administration of affairs. They assured him at the same time, that the king secretly approved the plan, and concluded by recommending his speedy appearance.

The design of this confederacy, however cautiously conducted, could not long be kept secret from Afrasiab Khan. Information of the intended conspiracy being conveyed to him, he resolutely determined on a counter plan, and, by a coalition of interests with some disaffected lords, to defeat the designs of his enemies. Among these were the deposed minister, the Nawaub Majd Al Dowla. That nobleman had since his disgrace been kept in close confinement. Afrasiab Khan, finding him well inclined to the connection, applied to Shah-Aulum for his release. He observed to his majesty, that Majd Al Dowla, having experienced a severe punishment for his faults, in a tedious imprisonment, and the confiscation of his fortune, there was now room for clemency towards him. Shah-Aulum acquiescing in the request, Majd Al Dowla was liberated from his arrest, and again placed at the head of the Khalisa,* at the same time Nujuff Cooli Khan, son-in-law of the late minister, was promoted to the office of Dewaun. The contending parties were, in force, nearly equal, but as Afrasiab possessed the post of advantage, in having the citadel under his immediate command, he flattered himself with the hopes of success.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Mirza Shuffee Khan, with his army arrived in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The king, it is said, being favourable to his

* The treasury.

pretensions, dispatched a confidential servant secretly to his camp, who recommended for the present his remaining inactive. This transaction did not escape the notice of Afrasiab Khan, and, on receiving information of it from his emissaries, he determined by a vigorous measure, at once to bring the matter to issue. Repairing to the palace, he, in peremptory terms, demanded the dismissal of Mirza Shuffee, and told the king that, perceiving his enemies had formed a plan to subvert his authority, it was incumbent on him by every means in his power, to prevent such an act of injustice. That, with respect to the appearance of Mirza Shuffee at the capital, he must be called on to assign his motives for quitting his station on the frontiers without leave obtained, and in manifest violation of his oath of allegiance. Afrasiab Khan concluded with remarking the improper conduct of the Princess Khadeeja Sultaun, whom he knew acted in concert with his enemies, and urged the necessity of laying some restraint upon her ambitious and intriguing spirit. He charged her with a design to degrade his majesty's authority; and finally concluded his remonstrance, with a requisition for that princess immediately to deliver up the fortress of Agra, with the cannon and warlike stores contained therein. Shah-Aulum under the restraint of his minister acquiesced in his demands, and accordingly Mirza Shuffee was called upon by letter to state his reasons for having quitted his station. This vigorous measure, though it alarmed Mirza Shuffee, did not incline him to relinquish his pursuits. Instead of answering to the charge, he advanced his camp opposite the Ajmere gate of the city, which he closely blockaded.

The aspect of affairs was gloomy. The rival chiefs were each determined to rest the issue of their respective claims to the sword, and a scene of tumult and horror was apprehended by the peaceful inhabitants. At this crisis of affairs an unexpected circumstance arose, which defeated the designs of the prime minister, and gave the palm of success to his opponent. During the disputes above related, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, who was governor of Agra on the part of Nujuff Khan, availing himself of the confusion of the times, resolved to participate in the spoils. He left the fort of Agra, and began to plunder and lay waste the country; but his vengeance was principally directed against the Jagheer of Afrasiab Khan of whose authority he was jealous. Afrasiab Khan, deeming the preservation of his estate preferable to maintaining his authority at court, determined to retire. But, previous to taking that step, he delivered over the citadel to his associate Majd Al Dowla, and at his departure told the king he would soon return, and take vengeance on his enemies. He then, with a select body of horse, took the road to Agra.

Scarcely had Afrasiab Khan left the city, when Mirza-Shuffee Khan marched in with his whole force. His success was rapid, having secured the gates and principal avenues to the palace, he detached a party to surround the houses of Majd Al Dowla, Latafut Khan, Nujuff Cooli Khan, and other chiefs, attached to his rival. After a short, but desperate, resistance, in which several were slain, those noblemen were compelled to submit; and Mirza Shuffee, elevated with his success,

repaired in triumph to the palace. He was immediately invested with the dignity of Ameer Al Omarah, and the supreme administration of affairs. Tranquillity being restored in the city, Mirza Shuffee paid a visit to the Princess Khadeeja Sultaun. After mutual congratulations, the princess presented him with a large sum of money, of which he was much in want, and to confirm his authority by every means in her power, she bestowed on him in marriage the only remaining daughter of her deceased brother. The nuptials were celebrated with much splendour at her own charge.

Arrived at the height of his ambition, it might naturally be conjectured that Mirza Shuffee would omit no precautions to confirm his authority upon a solid basis. But in his subsequent conduct he was highly reprehensible. That conduct which had acquired him the affection of the troops and the support of the officers, now appeared to have forsaken him. His demeanour on a sudden became haughty and imperious, which excited murmuring and discontent in the breasts of his associates, and their effect was for him but too soon apparent. In the meantime, we must direct our attention to the deposed minister. Afrasiab Khan, hearing of the late revolution, wisely resolved to make Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani his friend. He being equally well disposed to a compromise, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, in which it was agreed to join their forces and march forthwith to Delhi, to reinstate Afrasiab Khan in his authority, and afterwards sharing in a mutual administration.

In the meantime their views were advanced, though

unintentionally towards them, by the disclosure of a plan which had been concerted under the auspices of the Prince Juwaun Bukht, which produced a new revolution in affairs. That prince, who had long been indignant at the degraded situation of the royal authority, thought the absence of Afrasiab Khan a favourable opportunity for prosecuting a plan for the king's relief, and of taking a share of the Government to himself. He had for this purpose privately gained over to his views Latafut Ali Khan, Mahomed Yacoob, and some other lords. To the weight of their influence, was added that of Mr. Pauly, a French officer, who commanded the disciplined battalions of the late Somroo.

The plan of operations having been thoroughly digested, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by his associates, disclosed it to Shah-Aulum. They strenuously urged his majesty to dismiss Mirza Shuffee Khan from his employment, and to re-assume his authority, and punish the rebels. They concluded by recommending the immediate arrest of the minister, whom Mr. Pauly undertook to secure. Shah-Aulum signifying his acquiescence, the conspirators prepared to carry their plan into execution. It was, however, rendered needless by the voluntary departure of Mirza Shuffee Khan. He was that very morning exercising his troops on the sands of the Jumna, when he received an account of the plan for his destruction. He saw his danger, and finding his troops insufficient to face the combination, prudently resolved to retire. The Nawaub Majd Al Dowla and about 1,000 horse, accompanied him in his

flight. They took the road to Agra. On Mirza Shuffee's departure, the king mounting an elephant proceeded directly to the *Jumma Musjed,** where he received the compliments of the nobility, and distributed a large sum of money to the troops. His majesty then invested the Prince Juwaun Bukht with the office of Ameer Al Omrah, and returned to the palace. But this triumph of the court was of very short duration, and the principal actors in the late transaction were soon destined to experience a sad reverse of fortune. Indeed, every attempt of this ill-fated monarch to emancipate himself from the restraints imposed by his rebellious servants, seems only in the conclusion to have rendered his situation more wretched.

Mirza Shuffee and his associate on quitting Delhi, determined to seek an asylum in the camp of his inveterate foes. But it must be recollected that circumstances were now materially altered. He, like them, was a fugitive, and a sense of their common danger had, moreover, naturally reconciled the exiled chiefs to a combination of their mutual interest. Mahomed Beg, Mirza Shuffee, and Afrasiab Khan, having met in the neighbourhood of Muttra, after a mutual interchange of compliments, drew up a solemn treaty to the following effect: 1. An equal division was to be made of the lands, possessed by the late Nawaub Zulficar Al Dowla. 2. Mirza Shuffee Khan to be re-instated in the post of prime minister, and to remain at Delhi. 3. In consideration of Afrasiab Khan yielding up his claim to the chief direction of affairs, he was to be left in joint

* The principal mosque in the city of Delhi. See Appendix 1.

authority with Mahomed Beg Khan, to rule in the Doo Ab and south-west of the Jumna. The treaty was concluded by an unanimous assurance of inflicting on their enemies the most exemplary punishments. The united forces of these powerful chiefs then commenced their march towards the capital. On the road, they were joined by Pertaub Row of Maeheri. On reaching Fareedabad, a town about twelve miles south of Delhi, the confederates encamped, and from hence resolved to dictate to the emperor their own terms. Agreeably to this resolution, Majd Al Dowla was dispatched to court. He was commissioned in the name of the confederates to declare to Shah-Aulum, their resolution to maintain their allegiance to his majesty, but at the same time to state the necessity of restoring to Mirza Shuffee Khan, that authority of which by the machinations of his enemies he had been so unjustly deprived.

The arrival of this ambassador created the most alarming apprehensions in the king's mind. A council was assembled on the occasion, when Prince Juwaun Bukht spiritedly proposed to oppose the rebels by force. He observed to his majesty with much judgment, that should the rebels obtain their insolent demands, there was no reasonable ground in future to hope that any respect would be paid to his majesty, but that the traitors, as the natural effect of an easy compliance, would not rest satisfied without the complete degradation of the royal authority. The prince was supported in his opinion by the whole council, and Mr. Pauly affirmed that his own force was of itself sufficient to overthrow and disperse the rebels. But the king with

a pusillanimity totally unworthy of him, which arose from a fear of sustaining insults should the rebels be successful, rejected the salutary advice of his son, and commanded him in concert with Mr. Pauly to enter into an amicable agreement with the confederates. Many persons at Delhi scrupled not to affirm that the king on this occasion, was swayed by the intrigues carrying on in the harem. That the Princess Khadceja Sultaun, the aunt of Mirza Shuffee, had persuaded his majesty to pacific measures. It is most probable that to the latter cause may be attributed his irresolution. Pauly and Latafaut, therefore, were charged with the negotiation, and, to give appearance of greater cordiality on the part of his majesty, the Prince Juwaun Bukht was directed to accompany the commissioners to the rebel camp. Meanwhile, a plan, of which Afrasiab Khan is said to have been the contriver, was agitated in the councils of the confederates. They agree to the propositions for peace, but, instigated by a revengeful spirit, descended the perpetration of an atrocious act.

A general reconciliation of parties being agreed to, and properly ratified by the respective signatures, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by Pauly and Latafut, left the city and proceeded to the confederate armies. But scarcely had the devoted victims entered the camp, when a party of horse, who had been placed in ambuscade, suddenly issuing from their concealment, attacked and dispersed the followers of the commissioners, seized and overpowered those unfortunate men, and by a bloody process struck off the head of Mr. Pauly, and deprived Latafut of sight. The army of the rebels then attacked

the battalions of the commissioners, who, as they were totally unprepared for the treachery, were easily overpowered. To the prince they promised implicit obedience, and shortly after in his company entered the city in triumph.

Shah-Aulum, thus reduced, was constrained to receive the rebels with apparent satisfaction and marks of respect. Mirza Shuffee was reinstated in his authority, and the other chiefs were honoured with titles and dignities.

From the ascendancy thus acquired by Mirza Shuffee had he pursued an upright conduct, there was every prospect of his authority being permanent. But it soon appeared that the late reconciliation of the contending chiefs was temporary and insincere. The prime minister in order to restore tranquillity to the province of Agra, which had suffered much by the tumults before mentioned, resolved to repair thither in person: he took with him the prince Solimaun Shikoh. We may recollect the stipulations made in the treaty of Agra the preceding year. Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, who deemed himself the principal instrument in the restoration of the minister's authority, now called on him for the performance of his agreement. He demanded his share of the lands of the late Zulficar Al Dowla. Mirza Shuffee, whether he thought his authority too firmly established to be again shaken, or jealous of divided sway, refused compliance with the terms of the treaty.

Mahomed Beg Khan, justly incensed at this breach of faith, gave vent to the natural ferocity of his disposition, and resolved to take a severe revenge. It is probable, however, that the minister might have warded

off the blow, had he not by an act of equal folly and injustice, hurried the whole body of the Mogul nobility into acts of open hostility. It will be necessary here to develop the causes of sudden revolution which led to the extinction, not only of his authority, but his life. To an unbounded ambition, Mirza Shuffee unfortunately added an inextinguishable avarice: actuated by that unworthy passion, he, in a fatal moment, determined to resume those lands which had been granted by the late Nujuff Khan as *Jaiedad* of the maintenance of the troops of the different Mogul lords. In lieu of these, he determined it should henceforth be disbursed by monthly payments from the royal treasury. His commands, when notified to the different chiefs, excited universal murmurings and discontent. But Mirza Shuffee enforced obedience to his orders.—Fatal were the consequences which followed this rash and impolitic measure. The commanders, irritated at the unworthy treatment, with justice deemed their services merited a return far different; and, under the impulse of passion, hurried themselves into the commission of a crime of the blackest dye. Afrasiab Khan, Mahomed Beg Khan, and other lords, entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the minister; and bound themselves, after the perpetretion of the deed, to place Afrasiab Khan in the authority of the deceased, and to restore the *Jaiedads*. The more effectually to conceal their intentions, it was agreed to invite Mirza Shuffee, who was by this time advanced towards Agra, to an amicable conference, to reconcile and settle their mutual disputes.

On the 23rd of September of the current year, the

two armies met, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Deig. Though the conspiracy we have before related, had been planned with the utmost secrecy and caution, it, by some means or other, reached the ears of Mirza Shuffee's friends: and, previous to the intended interview, the prime minister was warned of the treacherous designs of his enemies. But Mirza Shuffee rejected the information as a concerted falsehood; and, totally regardless of personal safety, accompanied by a few followers, he proceeded on his visit. The army of Mahomed Beg Khan was drawn out as if ready to receive and compliment the minister. Each of the chiefs was mounted on his elephant; as the animal on which Mirza Shuffee rode approached the other, Mahomed Beg Khan, conformable to established usage, rose up, saluted, and embraced his rival; but, in the performance of that act, having seized hold of the minister's right hand, which was the signal agreed on, Mirza Ismaeel Beg, his nephew, who sat in the Khawass*, plunged a dagger into the body of the devoted victim. He groaned, fell back, and expired. A desperate action ensued between the armies; but at length Afrasiab Khan, exerting his influence, persuaded the troops of the late minister to join the confederates. The body of Mirza Shuffee was taken up by his followers, and interred in the fort of Deig.

---

* The Khawass is the back seat on an elephant, in which a person is usually placed with a *Chowri*, or fan. At court, and amongst nobility, it is deemed the highest honour to be placed there.

Of this event Afrasiab Khan having sent notification to Delhi, an answer was received, expressive of the king's approbation of the deed. At the same time, a *firmaun* arrived, which constituted Afrasiab Khan, Ameer Al Omrah, and, moreover, gave permission to appropriate to his own use the effects of the late minister. Finally, Afrasiab Khan and prince Solymaun Shekoo were ordered to repair to the capital with all possible expedition.

The indifference with which this important trust was conferred upon Afrasiab, creates a suspicion that the fate which had befallen Mirza Shuffee was not disagreeable to his majesty. A generous mind, on this surmise, deplores the humiliating situation of a descendant of Timoor, sanctioning acts disgraceful to humanity, and subversive of the principles of moral and social order.

When Mirza Suffee was assassinated, his brother, Zein Al Abideen Khan, was governor of Meerut. The king, tenacious of the power which he derived from that situation, determined upon his removal. A mandate was accordingly issued for that nobleman's appearance at court. He was received with respect. Shah-Aulum, after condoling with him on the death of his brother, intimated to him the necessity there was to resign his government. Zein Al Abideen, who was a man of impatient temper, in secret burnt with indignation at this unworthy treatment; at the time, however, he said nothing; but on retiring from the hall of audience, he repaired to his own palace, whence he privately departed. Sensible that this conduct would enrage the king, he

hastened to Meerut; and, determined to resist the royal authrity, he there collected around him his friends and dependants.

Intelligence of this defection reaching Afrasiab Khan, he assembled the army, led it to Meerut, and invested the town. He had determined to have punished the rebel in the most exemplary manner; but this determination was overruled by the advice of his confidential officers. They represented that his power in the state was as yet infirm, and it therefore became him first to make overtures for negotiation, to which, in all probability, Zein Al Abideen would assent. Nor were they deceived in their conjectures. Intimation being given, treaty was set on foot; and, Zein Al Abideen consenting to submit to his majesty's clemency, was pardoned. He was received at court with honour, and a stipend out of the royal treasury was allotted for his support.

The prime minister returning to Delhi, was received with great distinction. He answered Shah-Aulum with protestations of perpetual attachment; and as proof, presented his majesty with an offering of three lacks of rupees, and some Persisn horses.

Cuttub Al Dowla was now sent to command in Meerut; and Nujuff Cooli Khan, son-in-law to the late minister, who had till now resided at Meerut, was dircted to remain at court.

In the beginning of 1784, Major Brown, who had been commissioned on a deputation to the king by the Supreme Council of Calcutta, arrived at the capital. The Major was received with high respect; and, in behalf of

the British government, presented Shah-Aulum a handsome peshcush.

The arrival of this deputation excited various emotions in the minds of the Delhians; some were of opinion that the period was at hand when Shah-Aulum would return to the protection of his oldest and, in truth, his best friends, the English: others again conjectured that the intent of the embassy was to arrange with the minister the concerns of the royal family. These, during the late commotions, had arisen to a height which was truly distressful. But the real cause of Major Brown's arrival* was in consequence of orders he had received from his government, not to decline any overture that might be made for affording a military aid to the royal cause. The Sikhs had for several years back, by their predatory incursions into Doo Ab and Rohilcund, excited alarm in the government of Asuf Al Dowla: and Mr. Hastings, the British Governor, with his usual discernment, deemed the exertions of the court of Delhi might, at the present juncture of affairs, prove a beneficial counterpoise to the rising power of the Sikhs.

Many days had not elapsed since the arrival of Major Brown, when an event occurred which created much confusion in the palace, and led, in its future consequences, to concerns of momentous import. The heir-apparent, prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, disgusted at the daily insults he received from the minister, resolved to throw himself on the protection of the vazir and the English; he hoped thereby to procure ease to himself,

* See the proceedings Parliament on the trial of Mr. Hastings.

and an alleviation to the distresses of his family. Escaping from the palace at midnight, he crossed the Jumna, and repaired to Lucknow. But as the fortunes of Mirza Juwaun Bukht will hereafter be detailed in their proper order, it is here only necessary to point out the immediate effects of his flight from the capital.

Afrasiab Khan, conscious of the ill-treatment the unhappy prince had, through his means, endured, was fearful of the vazir's* resentment. He thought, therefore, that the most effectual means of obviating this would be, to persuade the heir-apparent to return to Delhi. Accordingly, he, in the king's name, sent letters to the vazir and Mr. Hastings, who was then at Lucknow, demanding, in terms most peremptory, the immediate return of the fugitive prince. Although Shah-Aulum, by affixing his seal to the dispatches, apparently sanctioned the demands of his minister, it is certain that, in his own mind he was not averse to the escape of his son. If, indeed, his unhappy situation be thoroughly considered, it is not to be wondered at he should endeavour by any means in his power to obtain relief.

Some days after the departure of the letters before mentioned, Major Brown, the British Ambassador, was requested to proceed to Lucknow. He accordingly repaired thither. Afrasiab Khan deeming his authority fully established, now threw off the mask, and exhibited himself in his natural colours. He first proposed to the king to march to Agra, the object of which he affirmed was the restoration of that province to order. Had

* Asuf Al Dowla.

he rested here, it would have redounded to the honour of Afrasiab: but, impelled by a jealousy against Mahomed Beg Khan totally unwarrantable, he, at the close of the conference, in vehement language urged the king to revenge the assassination of the late minister in the punishment of Mahomed Beg. His majesty perceiving the invidious drift, turned from the minister with coldness, and retired into his harem.

The source of this extraordinary demand may, without difficulty, be traced in the ravalship of the two chiefs. Mahomed Beg Khan, though certainly guilty of an atrocious act, deserved not punishment from the hands of Afrasiab. It has before been seen, that the minister himself, in conjunction with the Mogul Sirdars, had urged and stimulated him to the deed ; and for this he was now to become a sacrifice at the shrine of his imperious coadjutor.

Astonished at the king's abrupt departure, Afrasiab Khan, in sullen silence, retired to his own palace. Giving loose to his resentment, he there determind on a measure equally violent and unjust. At the conference above mentioned, the Nuwaub Majd Al Dowla had been present. That nobleman having endeavoured to dissuade the king from his intended expedition to Agra, the officious remark passed not unnoticed by the haughty spirit of Afrasiab. He now directed Nujuff Cooli Khan, his dependant, to lead a party of guards to the palace of Majd Al Dowla, and seize his person. His orders were obeyed with alacrity, and the unfortunate man again found himself in the course of a few short hours reduced from affluence and command

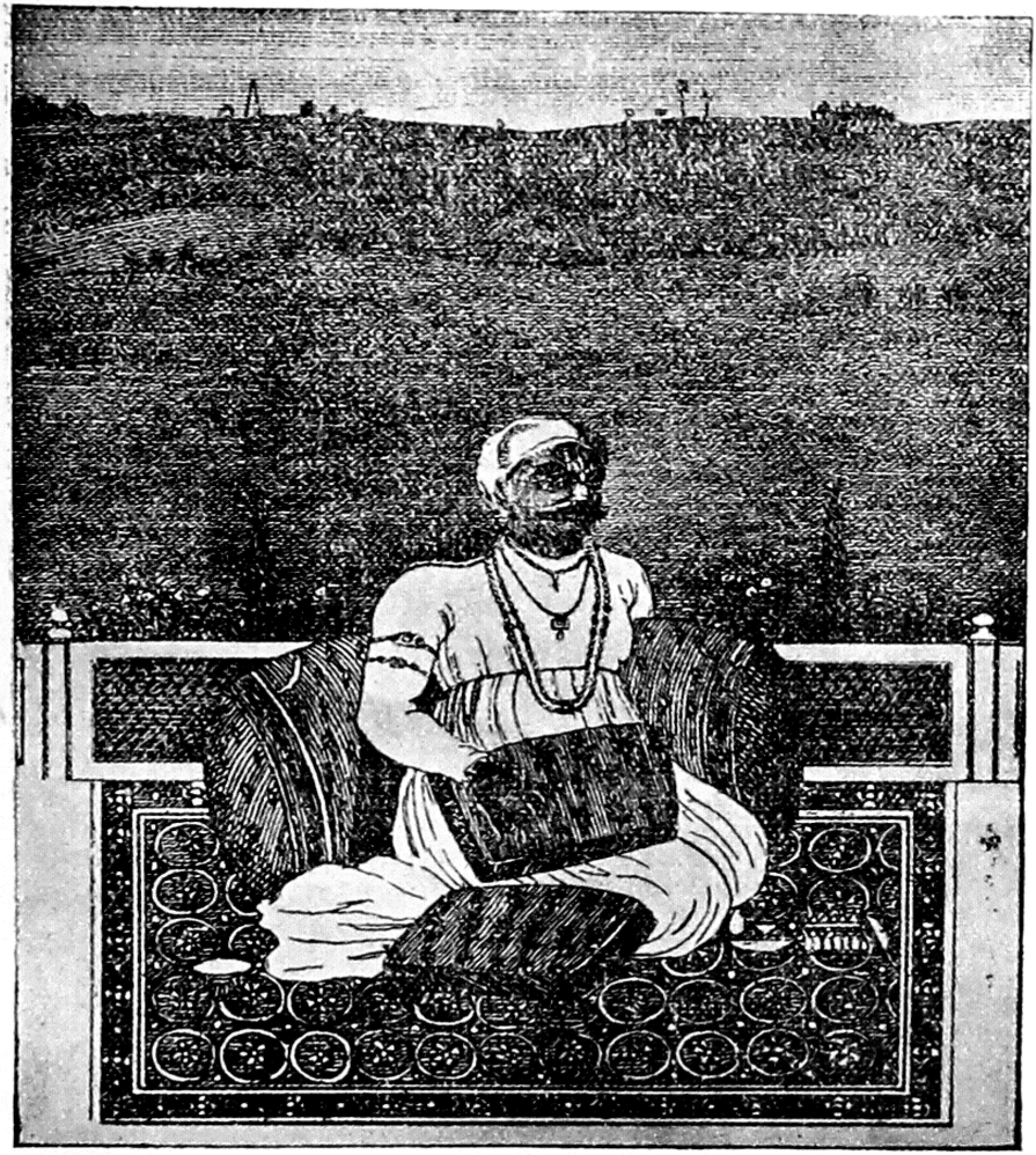
to penury and a prison. His property was seized, and converted to the minister's use. Majd Al Dowla was afterwards confined in the fort of Agra, weere he died in 1788 ; not much regretted, except by Shah-Aulum, whose confidence he had so frequently abused by the commission of oppressive acts upon his subjects. He was an intriguing artful courtier, avaricious, and insolent. Shah-Aulum, when informed of this outrage, was filled with the deepest indignation. He resolved therefore, at all events, to throw himself into the hands of the Marhattas; and, by a foreign aid, to relieve himself from the insupportable insults daily offered him by his own subjects.

CHAPTER VIII.

Rise and Progress of Madhajee Sindiah, Ruler of Malwah, from the Establishment of his Family in that Province until his Interference in the Politics of the Court of Delhi—Intrigues of Afrasiab Khan—His Death and Character—Sindiah is made Prime Minister.

From the preceding scenes of party violence, the reader will with pleasure follow history through the more edifying detail of geographical information. We shall proceed, therefore, to take a retrospective view of the Malwah province, in its fluctuating state under a succession of rulers. But the considerable influence acquired by Madhajee Sindiah in the politics of Hindostaun. previously demands attention to the rise and progressive fortune of this extraordinary man.

Madhajee Sindiah Putteel Bahadur was descended from a Rajpoot family. His father, Ranojee Sindiah, was an officer in the service of Bajirow, who, in the latter end of the reign of Rajah Sahoo, was Paishawah of the Marhatta state. The supineness and effiminacy of the court of Delhi, and the distracted state of the empire towards the close of the reign of Mohammad Shah, rendered easy the subjugation of the Malwah province. On that expedition Ranojee Sindiah accompanied the Paishwah. The services and ability displayed by Ranojee during the campaign, were rewarded with the management of the province, which was confirmed in



MADHAJEE SINDIAH

jagheer to his descendants by Raja Sahoo. Ranojee had four sons: Appajee, Tajee, Tookajee and Sindiah. Appajee was slain in a civil broil in the Jynaghur province; Tookajee and Tajee perished in the memorable battle of Panneeput in 1762.

Sindiah, in that action, though only seventeen years of age, displyed a genius and spirit which well foretold his future greatness: being desperately wounded, and unable to follow the route of the few survivors of the Marhatta army, he was secretly taken care of in the camp of the Abdallee. Recovered from his wounds, he was privately removed from this asylum, and by his protectors conveyed into Deccan. He then assumed the government of his patrimonial estate of Ujein. From his intense application to business, aided by the endowments of a vigorous mind, he soon acquired considerable influence in the Marhatta state; and was early considered as one of the principal Jagheerdars. In 1770, he accompanied Holkar and Beesajee into Hindostaun, where his actions have been recorded in the preceding pages.

Malwah,* the greater part of which is the inheritance of the Sindiah family, is in length two hundred and forty-five coss, in breadth two hundred and thirty. On the north, it is bounded by the Ajmere Soobah; on the south, by Baglanah; on the east, by part of Agra and Allahabad; and on the west, by Guzerat. The principal

* For the following detail of the Malwah province, the author is happy to confess his obligations to Major Charles Reynolds, Surveyor-general on the Bombay establishment, who furnished him with the materials collected by himself on the spot.

rivers that flow through this fertile and extensive tract, are the Chumbul, the Sind, and the Norbuddah; but it is watered by many other smaller streams. Though higher than the rest of Hindostaun, the land of Malwah is in general fertile; in it are reared numerous herds of cattle; and it abounds in opium, indigo, and tobacco. —In former times, the revenues were computed at four millions sterling; this, of late years, however, has been much reduced; and even Sindiah, in his collections, can realize only a million.

The Pathan princes of the race of Khilji having conquered that province from the Hindoos, fixed their seat of government at Mandu.* It was during the long and glorious reign of the renowned Akbar, that Malwah was gradually alienated from the Pathans.—Having annexed it to his empire, it remained in his family until the close of the reign of Mahmud Shah.

The zemindars and soldiers of fortune here, as in other parts of the empire, during this turbulent period, divided amongst them the different provinces. Out of these arose several independent states; those states encroaching upon the imperial authority, by degrees threw off all but a nominal allegiance to the house of Timoor.—Hence, the authority of the Soobah became frequently circumscribed to the environs of that city, which he chose for his residence. The Rajah of Chundeely, descended from the ancient princes of the country, seized on the north-east parts; the southern were occupied by the Keeches. To the westward, the petty zemindars of Annuntwarah and Sooudunah

* A large city, fifty miles distant from Ujein.

assumed the style of independent princes; and in the centre of the province was erected the nabobship of Bhopaul.

Whilst these rebels were bidding defiance to the royal authority, a new and more formidable enemy, the Marhattas, soon destroyed the hopes of those petty sovereigns, and made themselves masters of the whole province. At this period, Kullich Khan, the famous Nizam Al Mooluk, was governor of Deccan. He also, disgusted at the levity which stigmatized the councils of the court of Delhi, resolved to render himself independent. To avert, however, the vengeance of the royal arms, he secretly invited the Marhattas to an invasion of the Malwah province. Delighting in predatory warfare, the proposal was received with avidity. The immense Marhatta host was commanded by Bajirow; Rajah Girdhar directed the imperial forces. Desperate was the battle which soon ensued; but victory declaring for the invaders, with incredible rapidity they overran both Malwah and the rich province of Guzerat; and their victorious arms were afterwards carried to the confines of Beianah and Ajmere.

The petty sovereigns who had assumed independency, in consequence, obliged to yield up the best part of their possessions, were reduced to the payment of an annual tribute: but the Nabob of Bhopaul and a few other Rajahs were still permitted to retain a part of their torritories, and to exercise over them an authority subordinate to the control of the Marhatta government.

Malwah was then divided into three shares: the first was allotted to Bajirow; the second to the Marhatta

prince, Rajah Sahoo ; the third to the family of Mulhar Holkar. Sindiah, as we have seen, inherited that part of the province bestowed on his father by Bajirow. But by a train of successful operations, he was enabled to appropriate to himself a considerable portion of the Circar lands. Tookajee Holkar, who inherits the third division of the Malwah province, since his accession, has resided at Indore, a city thirty miles distant from Ujein.

Ujein, the modern capital of Malwah, is situated on the eastern bank of the Sipree river, in lat. 23. 12. N. and long. 75. 48. W. The city is, from its antiquity, of considerable note in the empire. The monuments which it exhibits of the piety and superstition of its Hindoo sovereigns, are still regarded with veneration ; nor have the Pathan emperors contributed less to its embellishment. Among a variety of grand and venerable ruins, travellers mention with applause an edifice erected by Nassir Al Deen Khiljee in the ninth century of the Mahomedan era. About one mile and a half east of the city is a large gloomy building of an ocatangular form, and the whole of the materials of stone. Its foundation is an artificial island, which is formed by a deviation of the western channel of the stream in the bed of the Sipree, and is connected with the opposite bank by a stone bridge of sixteen arches. The building consists of a variety of spacious chambers, constructed upon a level with the water : throughout these, by means of reservoirs, the water is conveyed in different channels, and hence, by artificial cascades, discharges itself into the Sipree in pleasing murmurs. The apartments in this delightful retreat are cool and salubrious.

To each recess are fastened rings of iron for the purpose of attaching purdahs, or screens made of the aromatic root called Khuss. These, when sprinkled with water from without, not only give an agreeable coolness to the entering air, but entirely exclude the inclemency of the sultry season. We have before remarked that, among persons of distinction, this luxury is common throughout Hindostaun. Into these watery abodes, when desirous of repose, and fatigued with the toils of state, the princes of the house of Khiljee were accustomed to retire. During the periodical rains, the lower parts of this building are entirely overflowed, and an amazing force of water acts against it; but so great were the pains bestowed on its erection, and the materials of such wonderful solidity, that after a lapse of three centuries it remains entire, and still continues to attract the admiration of the spectator.—We resume, after this digression, the thread of our narration.

Sindiah, on his return from Hindostaun in 1774, employed his utmost exertions to extend his influence, and enlarge his patrimonial territory. Bold and aspiring in his views, he pursued the plans of his future aggrandisement with ardor and unremitting perseverance. He had greatly increased his revenues, and rendered his country highly flourishing, when six years afterwards was formed the grand Marhatta confederacy. Joining with that league, he became a principal actor in the scene, in which it was vainly hoped to have overthrown the British empire in the East. It was, however, happily dissolved, and the scheme rendered abortive, by the prompitude and vigor of the British

councils, aided by the brilliant ascendancy acquired by British arms under the auspices of Coote and Goddard.

Sindiah, who during that memorable contest had exhibited the conduct of an active and able leader, on its conclusion, turned his arms against Gohud.* In 1782. at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he entered that province for a second time, and with a fairer prospect of success than in his former expedition.

The reigning prince, Rajah Chutter Sing, fearful of the issue, endeavoured, by soliciting an alliance with the British Government, to avert the impending storm. Accordingly, by his ambassador at Calcutta, in recompense for an interference of the English in his behalf, he promised on annual Nuzeranah of four lacks of rupees. It does not, however, appear that such an alliance was, at the present juncture, deemed acceptable to the Supreme Government of Bengal. Although Sindiah's extensive views of conquest, and the notoriety of his ambition, were to the Council objects of sufficient magnitude to excite alarm, still the fidelity which that prince had invariably observed in his transactions with the British nation, his uprightness, and above all, his faithfnl and steady adherence to treaties, had impressed the minds of government with sentiments highly favourable toward him.

The alliance with the Ranah was, therefore, rejected : but it was deemed eligible by the Council to endeavour effecting an amicable compromise betwixt the contending

* A province situated about sixty cosses west of Agra. and originally ruled by Rajpoot princes.

parties. Consonant to this resolve, Mr. David Anderson,* the British ambassador at Sindiah's Durbar, was directed to ascertain his sentiments in regard to the proposed mediation. But Sindiah either in consequence of repeated breaches of faith on the part of Chutter Sing, was animated with a spirit of personal resentment against him : or, impelled by a desire long entertained of extending his dominions, declined the proffered interference. After a desultory warfare of two years, the reduction of Gohud was finally effected ; and on the 24th November 1784, Rajah Chutter Sing surrendered himself to his opponent.

Sindiah having thus acquired the province of Gohud, now directed his whole attention to the affairs of Delhi. During the transactions before mentioned, he had maintained a correspondence with Mirza Shuffee Khan. That nobleman entering into his views, had promised him his entire assistance and support in its execution. But on his arrival on the north of the Chumbul with an army of thirty thousand men, Sindiah heard of the death of his associate. Deeming the opportunity, for which he had so long and so anxiously fought, now arrived, he, from his present station, dispatched letters to the court of Delhi. In these, after declaring his

* To the zealous and faithful exertions of this gentleman, as well as those of his brother, Mr. James Anderson, who succeeded him, may be chiefly ascribed the conciliatory conduct of the Marhatta government, at a momentous and interesting period, in entering into an alliance which has hitherto been preserved with fidelity on their part.—See the Reports of the Select Committee on the Second Marhatta War.

intentions of restoring the royal family to its former splendour, he made a request to Shah-Aulum to remove with his court to Agra; at which place, the Marhatta chief informed his majesty, he would, to the satisfaction of all parties, arrange and settle the affairs of the empire.

Afrasiab Khan, on receipt of these letters, laid them before the king, and urged his majesty to an immediate compliance with the contents. Shah-Aulum, who for a long time, possessed neither influence nor authority, assented to the proposal, and the royal tents were ordered to be got ready. The prime minister, after nominating Nujuff Cooli Khan to the government of the fort and city of Delhi, pitched his camp without the walls. On the ensuing day, the army took the route to Agra.

The high pitch of authority to which the minister had arisen, gave him entire control in the state; and whilst his order of march in this expedition was marked with the most luxurious extravagance, inconvenience and distress attended the family of his sovereign.—On the march, the prime minister received letters from the vazir and the British governor-general.* Actuated by the impulse of a liberal mind, those powers, on the present occasion, urged in the most pressing terms the release of the Nuwaub Majd Al Dowla; and recommended to the minister a different treatment to his unhappy sovereign. But the unrelenting spirit of Afrasiab was not to be softened; intreaties or threats were to him alike indifferent. Majd Al Dowla was

* Mr. Hastings.

ordered into a closer confinement ; and Afrasiab Khan, leading the emperor in triumph, encamped under the walls of Agra.

Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani had taken a strong position about forty miles from that place, and the Marhatta prince was now advanced to Futtypore.

Such was the situation of the contending parties, when Sindiah opened a negotiation with Mahomed Beg. Anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of the sentiments of the Mogul nobility, and to learn the extent of their different views and expectations, Sindiah proceeded in a manner cautious and circumspect : as a preliminary step, he called on Mahomed Beg to exculpate himself from the charge of murder. In extenuation of his crime, that nobleman threw the odium of the transaction upon the prime minister. He had alleged, and truly, that Afrasiab Khan had not only instigated him to the deed, but bound himself by the most solemnities to support him in it when executed. Regarding himself, Mahomed Beg professed a ready obedience to the commands of the Marhatta, and that if he would so far interfere as to procure the king's pardon, he would henceforth attach himself to his fortunes. Meanwhile, he declared his intention of remaining quiet in his present positlon.—To these insinuations, Sindiah in reply declared that, satisfied with such a declaration, Mahomed Beg might rely on his interference in procuring the pardon required. Whilst the above negotiation was pending, Afrasiab Khan beheld the motions of Sindiah with a watchful and jealous eye : suspecting an accession of influence from the submission of Mahomed

Beg, he prepared to circumvent it by a counter treaty. But these designs were frustrated by an accident which at once put a period to his ambition and his life.

To relate with precision the particulars of this event, we must recur to the situation of Zein Al Abideen. That nobleman, the reader will recollect to have been forgiven: but Afrasiab well knowing his disposition would not be easy while he remained at liberty; on this account he had hitherto been detained in, what by the natives of Hindostaun was deemed, an honourable confinement. Upon the first letters, however, that passed between Afrasiad Khan and Sindiah, at the particular request of the latter, Zein Al Abideen was released. He appeared in the camp, but resolved to be avenged of his brother's death. An occasion soon offered. In the month of November, an interview took place in the vicinity of Futtypore between Sindiah and Afrasiab Khan. After the usual interchange of civilities, Sindiah returned to his own camp. Rajah Himmut Bahadur and several other officers of the army having likewise taken leave, there remained in the tent Zein Al Abideen and Afrasiab Khan.

Zein Al Abideen, whose plan was already formed, now entered into conversation with the minister. In terms apparently cordial, and in the most respectful manner, he proposed to him for the future to live upon a more amicable footing; expressed his wish that all former differences should be forgotten, and urged the necessity of henceforth consolidating their mutual interests.

Suspended at the unexpectedness of this address, Afrasiab Khan remained for a time absorbed in silence, but about to have replied, when Zein Al Abideen,* with fury in his countenance, rose from his seat, a signal, upon which Maddoo Beg came up, and plunged his dagger into the breast of the devoted minister. He expired on the spot.—A violent tumult ensuing, several persons were slain: but Zein Al Abideen having effected his escape, sought and found protection in the camp of Sindiah.

Thus perished Afrasiab Khan, a man of turbulent dispostion and impetuous manners; but with great personal bravery, he possessed abilities for war. Zulficar Al Dowla having adopted him into his family, trained him to arms. Considerable were the services which he rendered the state, whilst under the guidance of his patron; deprived of his salutary counsels, the passions of Afrasiab, always uncontrolable, hurried him into measures the most bold and sanguinary. The cause of his ruin may be traced to his unguardedness in permitting Zein Al Abideen to recover his liberty. In that instance circumspect, he might perhaps have terminated his career happily.

The conduct of the Marhatta chief in countenancing Zein Al Abideen after the perpetration of so foul a crime, calls loudly for the severest reprehension; it is a strong presumptive proof that he was accessary to the deed. In recording the transactions of a wicked and dissipated court, the impartiality of history demands the strictest scrutiny; whilst the multiplied assassinations

* *MSS.* Narrative of Sayid Rezzi Khan.

which in later times, have disgraced the politics of Delhi, in a reflecting and susceptible mind, must excite horror.

When the tumult occasioned by Afrasiab Khan's death had subsided in the camp, Himmut Bahadur and the Mogul officers, as if by preconcerted agreement, repaired to the tents of the Marhatta chief. After complimenting him on the death of his rival, they assured him of their unanimous support in his administration of affairs: they doubted not but his majesty would confer on him the office of Ameer Al Omrah, for which he was so eminently qualified. These assurances Sindiah received with real satisfaction; and the two armies having joined, he led the united forces to Agra. We must now for a while turn aside to the situation of the king, who, during the late negotiations, had remained in the fort of Agra.

The Nawab Majd Al Dowla, who, as before remarked, was confined by order of the late minister, hearing of his rival's death, persuaded the Killadar of Meerut to connive at his escape. This being effected, he, in company with Cuttub Al Dowla, visited the king. Shah-Aulum received him with kindness, and directed him to remain near the presenee. This would, in all probability, have led to an immediate return of his honours and employments, had not his enemy, Shuja Dil Khan, governor of Agra, in conjunction with Raja Dayaram, endeavoured to impress the king's mind with suspicions of his fidelity. But their malice failed of effect; for the king, convinced that there was no reason to suspect Majd Al Dowla of any disloyal intentions,

heard their remonstrances with disgust, and commanded them to desist.

But the insolent manner in which they had urged their demands, convinced Shah-Aulum that he was entirely in their power and, having little to hope for any respect from them in future, he resolved to quit Agra altogether. The arrival of Sindiah would, he hoped and expected, speedily afford him the means of punishing their presumption. But in order to leave no room for those noblemen to suspect his intention, he ordered the greater part of his family to remain behind; then taking Majd Al Dowla along with him, his household troops escorted him to Delhi.

Mahomed Beg Khan, to whose situation we must now recur, remained, during the late transactions, in his entrenched camp. Sindiah, on Afrasiab's death, wrote to Mahomed Beg to repair to Agra. A conference ensued, and a pension of 16,000 rupees per month was allotted for his support out of the revenues of Shekooabad. A few days after, Sindiah, with his usual policy, resolved to employ the abilities of his newly-acquired dependant on a distant expedtion. By removing Mahomed Beg from the scene of action in Hindostaun, he effectually prevented any cabals for counteracting his own designs; and the probability of his being taken off while employed on active service was an additional motive in the mind of this politic chief. He therefore requested of Mahomed Beg to proceed to the conquest of Ragho Gurh, a strong fortress in Deccan, and bordering upon Sindiah's patrimonial estate. The country of Keetchwara, in which

the before mentioned fortress is situated, was then in a state of actual rebellion; and to Mahomed Beg was committed the double charge of reducing in under obedience to Sindiah, and the subsequent management of the districts. Having made the necessary preparation for his departure, Mahomed Beg Khan, accompanied by 5,000 men, proceeded on his expedition to Ragho Gurh.

The greater part of the Mogul nobility having by this time declared for Sindiah, he now repaired with confidence to the capital. His expectations were fully answered; for, whether Shah-Aulum, disgusted at the thraldom in which he had been held since the death of Nujuff Khan, expected by a change in the government to experience some repose, or or whether he, on this occasion, made a virtue of necessity, has not been clearly ascertained. To Sindiah, however, the event proved highly favourable. In the month of January, the Marhatta chief entered Delhi. He was received by the king with every demonstration of satisfaction, and treated with distinguished honour. In full Durbar, his majesty invested him with the office of Ameer Al Omrah; and, as an additional mark of favour, ordered a patent to be made out for the Peishwah of the Poonah Durbar (under whose authority Sindiah professed to act), constituting him Vakeel Mutluck,* or Absolute

* The office of Vakeel Mutluck in Hindostaun is paramount almost to sovereign authority, inasmuch as it empowers the person holding the office to raise troops at pleasure. It may appear remarkable that the Paishwah, who is the head of the Marhatta empire, should deem it any acquisition to his authority to receive an office from what he considered as coming from a

Director General of the affairs of the Empire, with the Neabut of that office to Sindiah himself. On receiving his honorary dress, the new minister presented an offering of five lacks of rupees, and retired from the presence.

---

nominal emperor of Hindostaun: yet, it should remembered that, however weak and impotent the present descendant of Timoor is esteemed, it still continues, and ever will continue, a desirable object among the native powers to make use of his name towards completing their own aggrandisement.

CHAPTER IX.

Occurrences at Court—War against Jypore—Intrigues of the Mogul Nobility—Sindiah is defeated—Retires across the Chumbul—Intrigues of Gholaum Cadir Khan—Account of Begum Somroo—Gholaum Cadir Khan besieges the Palace—He is repulsed and pardoned—Prince Mirza Juwaun-Bukht—Review of his Life—Death and Character.

During the late violent commotion, the provinces had fallen into disorder and decay. Their restoration was the first object to which the attention of the new minister was directed. The office of Dewaun, or superintendent of the revenues, had long been under the management of Dayaram. His conduct of late had, in many instances, been highly reprehensible; but his behaviour toward the king at Agra, determined Sindiah to remove him from office. The Dewanship was accordingly bestowed on Narain Dass, a person of capacity, and a skilful financier. Remaining a short time at Delhi, during which he disposed of several offices and employments, Sindhia assembled the army for the reduction of Agra.

The commencement of the current year was marked by the departure of the British Governor-General from India. In quitting this important trust, Mr. Hastings had the satisfaction to perceive himself followed by the unanimous good wishes of the princes of Hindostaun,

and the prayers of the natives. On the present occasion, the king, the vazir of the empire, the nazim of Deccan and the court of Poonah, all sent letters to Calcutta; in those were expressed their regret for the governor's departure, and contained, moreover, most ample tesimonies of the high opinion they entertained of his abilities, integrity, and good faith.*

On the arrival of the army before Agra, Sindiah summoned the governor to surrender the fort. He declared also, that by a resistance to the royal authority, the governor could have no hope for pardon. Treating the summons with contempt, Shujah Dil Khan prepared for a vigorous resistance. Sindiah commencing his approaches, two batteries were soon opened, and began to play upon the fort with considerable effect. Part of the curtain was thrown down, and several guns within dismounted. The governor in the meantime was not idle. He repaired the breaches with incessant activity, and by his own spirited behaviour animated the garrison. A month had elapsed when Shujah Dil Khan, foreseeing the ultimate reduction of the place, endeavoured, by an act of assumed respect, to mollify Shah-Aulum. That part of the royal family who, as

* Time, which removes the veil from the intrigues of policy has evinced, that the ideas entertained by the natives of India, of that illustrious character, were just. His countrymen have beheld with a satisfaction, almost universal, the honourable award of a British Senate; an award no less honourable to the character of Mr. Hastings, than grateful to his mind, harrassed by the degrading circumstancas attendant on a prosecution, which is without parallel in the annals of mankind.

before seen remained in the fort of Agra, were now liberated, and sent with an escort to Delhi, which thay reached without molestation.

Sindiah perceived that the siege advanced but slowly; he hoped, therefore, by opening a negotiation with some leading men among the besieged, to gain them over to his interests. The event answered his wishes. The Kotwal and several other officers having been bribed by a large sum of money and a promise of personal security, agreed to deliver up one of the gates of the fort. On a preconcerted signal, a select body of troops presenting themselves, were admitted by the treacherous Kotwal, and before the governor or his associate Dayaram could receive information, were overpowered and taken prisoners. They were immediately put into close confinement, and sent off to the camp. Sindiah, when possessed of the fort, by not permitting it to be plundered, acted with becoming policy; he, however, exacted considerable sums from the most wealthy inhabitants, which he distributed as a largess to the army. Of the whole of the possessions of the late Afrasiab Khan, there now remained only Ali Gurh. That fort is situated in the upper part of the Doo Ab. It had been fortified with great care, and in it were deposited the family and treasures of the deceased Nuwaub. Jahangire Khan, his brother, commanded in Ali Gurh. He had a strong garrison, and the siege was expected to be long and bloody. Early in the month of July of the current year, Sindiah appeared before the place. Contrary, however, to all expectation, it held out but a short time. It has been imagined that the fears

of the women, for the preservation of their honour and effects, had inclined the Killadar to pacific measures. Certain it is that Jehangire Khan, signifying his readiness to negotiate, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, and agreed to by the respective parties. To Khadim Hassum Khan, eldest son of the deceased Nuwaub, a jaghire was allotted, amounting to a yearly revenue of a lack and a half of rupees. To the Begums were promised an honourable asylum, and to Jehangire Khan personal safety. It appears, however, that this treaty was very ill adhered to by the Marhatta chief; for, on the place being surrendered, the Begums and Jehangire Khan were sent under a strong guard to the fort of Gwalior, and there detained in confinement. The young Nawaub, indeed, was received by Sindiah with great attention, and directed to remain in the royal camp. Sindiah then took possesion of the fort, and with it the whole of the treasures of Afrasiab Khan, amounting, as it has been affirmed, in specie, jewels, and valuable articles, to a crore of rupees.

The fall of Ali Gurh established the minister's authority on a firm and solid basis. Having before reduced under obedience the greater part of the Doo Ab and the countries south-west of the Jumna, he now found himself master of the whole of the possessions of the late Zulficar Al Dowlah, with an acquisition of revenue of two crores of rupees.

Intelligence of these important successes reaching Delhi, Shah-Aulum demonstrated his satisfaction by signal marks of favour. These were conveyed to the prime minister in three hundred superb Khilluts, to be

distributed by him to the officers of the army. Nor was Sindiah less liberal in his return. Twelve lacks of rupees were allotted for the support of the king's household: and he, moreover, sent rich presents to court.

About this time the prince Juwaun Bukht, the heir-apparent, then residing at Benares, forwarded to court a paishcush of one lack of rupees. This testimony of attention afforded great consolation to the king's mind. He now, for the first time since the death of Zulficar Al Dowlah, experienced some repose from the tumultuous cabals which had so long disgraced his court, and filled him with inquietude and anguish.

The departure of Mr. Hastings having occasioned some changes in the British administration, perspicuity requires that we bring under one head such transactions under that government as bear relation to the court of Delhi, during the current year. Sir John Macpherson succeeded Mr. Hastings in the chair. That gentleman, equally well inclined with his predecessor to pay every attention in his power to the king's interests, took an early opportunity of signifying the same. He confirmed to the Shah Zadah the generous aid he had received the preceding year, and through him assured his majesty, that the British government would, on all reasonable occasions, extend their aid in support of his authority.

On the part of Sindiah, Mr. James Anderson had succeeded his brother as ambassador to that Durbar. Major Brown, who had resided at court for some time past, was now recalled.

On the side of Oude, Major Palmer, who had resided

at the court of Asuf Al Dowla two preceding years, was now, at his own request, removed. To him succeeded Colonel Harper, who took an early opportunity of paying attention to the king, which he signified by letters, accompanied on the part of the Governor-General by a paishcush suitable to the occasion.

From these digressions we return to affairs at court. After the capture of Ali Gurh, Sindiah repaired to Delhi, where, on his arrival, his whole care and attention were directed to restoring good order to the government, in all affairs, both foreign and domestic.

Shah-Nizam Al Deen, a confidential servant of the minister, was appointed to the superintendence of the royal household, to which his majesty added the government of the fort and city of Delhi.

Toward the close of the current year died Zabita Khan, ruler of Sahauranpore, a man whose long and active life had been marked with a variety of alternate success and misfortune.

Taken comparatively with his father, Nejeeb Al Dowlah, Zabita Khan appears to have been of inferior capacity ; his frequent rebellions, and the native turbulency of his temper, had totally estranged from him the king's mind, and the account of his death was received at court with indifference.

Zabita Khan was succeeded in his territories by his eldest son, Gholaum Cadir Khan. He was a youth, proud, cruel, and ferocious. His first act on assuming the government was the expulsion of his uncle, Afzul Khan. This nobleman was at the time advanced in years, and admired for his exemplary manners. On his

degradation, Gholam Cadir ordered his effects to be seized and confiscated. This bold assumption of the government, without consulting the court, or petitioning for a continuation of the *Sunnud*, agreeable to the established usage of Hindosataun, gave great offence to the king. But Gholaum Cadir, well aware of the consequences, prepared to support his rebellion by open violence. The fort of Ghous Gurh was accordingly put into a state of defence, and the means of assembling a considerable force was afforded him by the confiscation of his uncle's property.

In those acts, Gholaum Cadir exhibited the first symptoms of that diabolical spirit which designated the actions of his future life. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign. But previous to entering into a detail of the intrigues of :Gholaum Cadir, we must for a while carry forward the affairs of Sindiah, and his operations with the neighbouring states.

Intelligence of the defection of Gholaum Cadir had scarcely arrived at court, when the prime minister was alarmed by an account of the rebellious designs of the Jynaghur prince. Pertaub Singh, informed of the late transactions of Ghous Gurh, had at the same time withheld his accustomed tribute. He thought the present opportunity favorable to a design long entertained of rendering himself independent. Sindiah prepared to subdue him by force: but the advice of the Rajah's confidential servant prevented for the present matters proceeding to extremity. They, foreseeing

ruin to his cause while Sindiah continued so powerful in the state, persuaded Pertaub Sing to desist. Their advice was attended with effect. The tribute was sent, and an additional paishcush which accompanied it appeased the resentment of Shah-Aulum.

Respected on all sides by the country powers, this fortunate Marhatta chief now saw with exultation his authority arrived at its highest extent. The factious spirit which had been exhibited by the Mogul nobility was quelled ; and Sindah's subsequent conduct toward that powerful body contributed both to reconcile them to his cause, and attach them to his person. Thus eligibly situated, had Sindiah properly appreciated his good fortune, he might have secured a power complete and unimpaired to the end. Unfortunately, however, a spirit of avarice gaining ground in his breast, inclined or impelled him to deviate from that line of liberal policy by which, at the first advance of his authority, he had been wisely guided. This deviation led in its consequences to events of a most serious nature, and had well nigh proved the utter destruction of the minister. But in order to explain the causes of an act which, in its execution, was followed by a revolution in the state, it will be here necessary to detail in a more particular manner the nature and tenure of the *Jaiedads*, or, as known in Hindostaun, those lands which are appropriated for the support of the troops.

In most of the courts of India, certain portions of land are set apart for the payment of the army ; these are termed *Jaiedads*, a tenure which secures to the possessor a sure and easy collection : they are made over to

the commanding officers, who, exclusive of the advantages they derive from these assignments in realizing their pay, are moreover enabled to retain a numerous body of dependants. These increased their consequence in the state, and not unfrequently afforded them the means of personal safety, when their turbulent ambition led them to rebel against their sovereign. It was these *Jaiedads* that the minister determined to resume ; and for the causes before mentioned their resumption at this juncture was equally dangerous, impolitic, and unjust: yet did Sindiah persist ; and though having the examples of Mirza Shuffee and others of his predecessors before his eyes, he, with a pertinacity approaching to infatuation, carried his resolves into effect. Considerable murmurs there were, but the great force of Marhattas kept up by the minister, prevented for the present any open act of hostility on the part of the Mogul officers. In secret, however, fired with resentment, they resolved on vengeance. The blow was gradually preparing. About this time Narain Dass, who, since the death of Afrasiab Khan, had conducted the affairs of the Khalsa, was suddenly, without accusation, dismissed from his employment, and his property, to a large amount, openly confiscated for the minister's use. The vacant office was confirmed on Shah-Nizam Al Deen.

Such repeated acts of injustice excited extreme disgust. Rajah Himmut Bahadur, who had so eminently assisted the designs of Sindiah, was not the last to experience an ungrateful return. An account of his *Jaiedad,* together with certain balances, said to be

due to the royal treasury, were demanded of him in the most peremptory terms. But Himmut Bahadur, indignant at the control attempted to be exerted over him, resolved to withhold all future support from his ungrateful associate. Quitting the court, therefore, he withdrew to his estate near Brindabun and prepared for resistance.

The downfall of the minister's authority was accelerated by a rupture with the Rajah of Jynaghur, against whom a war now seemed inevitable.

Pertaub Singh, though himself of weak capacity, and enervated by effeminate pleasures had, nevertheless, during a long interval of peace, increased the revenues and extended the commerce of his country. He now resolved openly to declare his independence of the court ; and having, as a prelude to his rebellion, withheld the customany tribute, he began to collect forces, and prepare himself for the consequences. But, previous to entering into a detail of the war against Jynaghur, we must recur for a while to the situation of Mahomed Beg Hamdani, who bore a cosiderable share in that war. Mahomed Beg, the reader will recollect, had been sent into the country of Keetchwara, where having reduced the fortress of Ragho Gurh, and settled the affairs of the province, he remained in that station for three years. Sindiah now ordered him to the capital, where he arrived at the commencement of the current year. As he brought with him a considerable body of his Mogul troops, the minister received him in a manner apparently cordial: but dreading his power and influence whilst at the head of an army, endeavoured to persuade

him to disband his troops. To this Mahomed Beg gave a positive refusal ; and the intelligence of the revolt of Pertaub Sing arriving at court, deterred the Marhatta prince from enforcing compliance. Mahomed Beg who retained in his breast a deep resentment, was resolved, as opportunity should occur, of gratifying it to the full extent. He had since his return entered into a correspondence with the prince of Jynaghur, which was terminated by an alliance with that chief. Meanwhile Sindiah having made the necessary preparations for the campaign, committed the care of the capital to his deputy, Shah Nizam Al Deen, and marched towards Jynaghur. Partaub Singh, attended by a numerous army, which he had recruited by alliances with several of the neighbouring Rajpoot princes, was encamped on the frontiers of his dominions.—The effect of that disgust, long entertained by the Mogul officers, now began to manifest itself to the detriment of the prime minister. Scarcely was he arrived in the presence of the enemy when he received information of a defection among his own troops. The Mogul nobility, headed by Mahomed Beg Khan, had secretly entered into engagements with Partaub Singh, whose splendid offers of money and employment in his service at once gratified their avarice, and afforded them the means of being revenged for the indignities they had sustained from the Marhatta prince. Through the agency of Rajah Dayaram, a treaty was formally drawn up, by which it was settled, that on the approach of the minister's army Mahomed Beg and the other Mogul lords should join Pertaub Singh. Accordingly, attended

by their whole force, they, in the face of Sindiah's army, went over to the enemy. Astonished, but not dismayed at this treacherous act, Sindiah with his remaining force hesitated not to give instant battle. The action which ensued was long and bloody; but Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani having been slain by a cannon ball, the Moguls received a check, and were thrown into some confusion. Pertaub Singh, informed of this accident, hastened to the spot, and conferred the command of the Moguls upon Ismaeel Beg, nephew of the deceased chief. Ismaeel Beg renewing the combat with ardour, soon recovered from the disorder, and restored the success of the day. But the event would have still remained doubtful, had not some disciplined battalions, formerly in the service of Afrasiab Khan, at this critical moment, suddenly gone over to the enemy, by which the Marhattas were dispirited beyond repair. The affair was immediately decided; Sindiah retreated from the field with expedition, and was obliged to take refuge in the fort of Alwar, the capital of his ally, the prince of Mecheri. That chief received the fugitive with cordiality and respect: but the severe check which Sindiah's authority had sustained in the loss of the late battle, and the dispersed state of the Marhatta army, convinced him that he could not long hold his situation at court. Collecting, therefore, the remains of his discomfited forces, he quitted Alwar, and retiring southward across the Chumbul, repaired to Gwalior, there to wait for reinforcements from Deccan.

Had the Jynaghur prince on this occasion made a proper use of his victory, it is probable the Marhatta

influence in Hindostaun would have been totally annihilated; but content with having cleared his dominions of the invader, Pertaub Sing, after first detaching the Mogul force under Ismaeel Beg to besiege Agra, which place was still in the hands of the Marhattas, he himself returned to Jynaghur.

The fort of Agra was defended by Lackwajee, the Marbatta general; he had with him a strong garrison, with abundance of provisions and everything requisite to sustain the attack. But the inhabitants of the city, totally unprepared with any means of resistance, and intimidated by threats of military execution, quietly submitted on the first approach of Ismaeel Beg. That chief having laid the inhabitants under a severe contribution, now formally demanded a surrender of the fort, to which Lackwajee replying in the negative, Ismaeel Beg commenced the siege.

Our attention must now be directed to the disagreeable situation into which the king had been thrown by the defeat and subsequent departure of the Marhatta army from Alwar. Prior to that event, Sindiah had received certain intelligence that the late desertion of the Mogul officers was owing to the intrigues of Rajah Dayaram. Restless and turbulent in dispoition, that nobleman was continually employed in fomenting the intrigues and reviving the discontent of the Mugul nobility; and through his negotiation, the treaty before mentioned with Pertaub Singh had been effected. Sindiah, in acquainting his deputy, Shah Nizam Al Deen, with this circumstance, urged him to inflict exemplary punishment upon the traitor. His orders were obeyed;

for having caused Rajah Dayaram to be arrested and brought to court, the ferocious deputy, even in the royal presence, gave orders for the unhappy wretch to be trodden to death under the feet of an elephant*

Although, by this sanguinary deed, the deputy evinced a determind spirit to support the Marhatta authority, the accounts of his master's defeat and subsequent movement towards Deccan, prepared him to expect the most unpleasant issue. He accordingly put the fort and city of Delhi into the best possible state of defence. Of these precautions he soon found there was sufficient need. Gholaum Cadir Khan, who as before remarked, had assembled an army, now determind to employ it in the advancement of his ambitious schemes. In a few days he arrived on the eastern bank of the Jumna, and encamped opposite the citadel. The Rohilla chief, however, rested not his hopes of success wholly on arms. He had attached to his interests a person of great influence, as well in the councils, as over the mind of the king. This man was Munsoor Ali Khan, the Nazir†, who, bred up with Shah-Aulum, had from his earliest youth, been a confidential servant, and loaded with a profusion of honours and distinguished kindness; but, forgetful of the duty he owed his sovereign, or gratitude due to his benefactor, the treacherous Nazir joined in the intrigues of the rebel. By the advocates for the Nazir it has been asserted, that hatred against the Marhatta government was the real cause of so extraordinary a conduct. From

* *MS.* Narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

† Superintendent of the Household.

whatever motive it arose, certain it is, the Nazir was determinded to introduce Gholaum Cadir into the administration ; and had accordingiy sent letters to the rebel, urging his speedy appearance to demand of his majesty the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah.

Great was the consternation occasioned at Delhi by the arrival of the Rohilla army ; but Shah Nizam Al Deen, assisted by Desmukh, son-in-law of Sindiah, prepared to repel the invader. Unhappily for themselves they despised the force of Gholaum Kadir ; aud lulled into a fatal security, were contented with detaching a small force across the river, giving positive orders to the commanding officer to make an immediate attack on the enemy's camp. Of this inattention they, in the sequel, had cause to repent : the battalions, on the very first onset, were driven back and dispersed by the Rohillas with great loss ; they pursued them to the banks of the river, where, boats not being at hand many threw themselves into the Jumna and perished miserably : the few who survived, ashamed to appear before the deputy, dispersed themselves over the city. and, as usual in Hindostaun, began to plunder.

The deputy seeing the disastrous posture of affairs, and having by this time received intelligence of the traitorous designs of the Nazir, prepared by a speedy flight to save himself from the vengeance of the conqueror. Accompanied by Desmukh, he withdrew privately from Delhi. They repaired to the fort of Bullum Gurh, a place twenty miles south of the capital. Hira Singh, Killadar of that place, received them with humanity : but Shah Nizam Al Deen not deeming himself

sufficiently safe at Bullum Gurh, retired from thence to Deig, which still acknowledged Sindiah's authority. Desmukh repaired to his father-in-law, whom he joined in the neighbourhood of Gwalior.

On the flight of the deputy from Delhi being made public, Gholaum Cadir prepared to reap the fruits of his late success. He crossed the river with a select body of troops, and went direct to the king's palace. On his arrival (agreeably to a concerted plan), he was introduced by the treacherous Nazir to the emperor. When honoured with the customary khillut, Gholaum Cadir preferred his petition for the investiture of the office of Ameer Al Omrah, and concluded with protestations of fidelity and attachment to his majesty's person. Shah-Aulum, perceiving himself without resource, was constrained, much against his inclination, to grant the request of this turbulent chief. Having acquiesced in the demand, the patent of creation was ordered to be got ready, and the Rohilla with a respectful obeisance retired from the presence.

Though by compulsatory means Gholaum Cadir had thus attained the desired object, his power was by no means securely established. Several persons well attached to the Marhatta government, as likewise to the king's person, still remained in Delhi. These, indignant at the unworthy treatment of their sovereign, and pitying his degraded state, resolved to make one effort for the restoration of his authority. Amongst others was the Begum Somroo, who at that time had considerable influence in the councils of Delhi. This lady, wife of Somroo (a name too well known to

Englishmen by his infamous conduct at Patna) now commanded the disciplined battalions which he had raised, and was, morever, possessed of a considerable *Jaghire*.

As this lady will bear a considerable share in the remaining transactions, we shall proceed to a concise retrospect of her situation and progress to authority.

Somroo, a German adventurer, whom a spirited author* has emphatically styled "the bloody agent of the cruelties of Meer Cossim," after the ruin of his master's affairs, retired into the Jaut province. He was there taken into the service of the late Zulficar Al Dowla, then in the plentitude of his power. In addition to his disciplined battalions, Nujuff Khan gave him the command of a body of Mogul horse; and, for the support of the whole assigned him the Pergunnah of Serdhauna, situated in the upper part of Doo Ab, as a *Jaiedad*. Somroo, previous to his death, which happened in 1778, married the daughter of a Mogul nobleman, whose family, from the unsettled state of the times, had fallen into distress. This lady, the present Begum, at the persuasion of her husband, embraced the Christian faith. She received from the king the title of Zebul Nisaa, or, Ornament of the Sex; and, on Somroo's demise, was continued in command over the troops, and confirmed by Nujuff Khan in the management of her *Jaghire*. In the centre of the ruined province of Sabaurunpore, in twenty-ninth degree N. latitude, and about sixty miles distant from the capital, rises the small but fertile principality of Serdhauna;

* Captain Jonathan Scott: History of Deccan, Vol. II.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
and tobacco-cane,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

we embrace the opportunity of paying a tribute deservedly due to the spirit, activity, and talents of this noble lady. Endowed by nature with masculine intrepidity, assisted by a judgment and foresight clear and comprehensive, Begum Somroo, during the various revolutions above detailed, was enabled to preserve her country unmolested, and her authority unimpaired. In the successive administration of Zulficar Al Dowla, Mirza Shuffee, and Afrasiab Khan, she was confirmed in her possessions; and when Sindiah arrived at supreme power, he added to the extent of them by a grant of some other lands south-west of the Jumna. In the war against Pertaub Singh, Begum Somroo with her force was stationed at Panneeput on the frontier, and in committing so important a trust to her charge was sufficient proof of the idea the Marhatta chief had conceived of her capacity. Her conduct now evinced that that confidence had not been misplaced, and her spirited exertions in defence of the king's authority acquired deserved applause in the breasts of all. To this lady, then, Gholaum Cadir, on retiring from the presence, made offers of alliance. Aware of her influence at court, the artful Rohilla endeavoured, by the most studied respect, to acquire her support in the extension of his usurped authority, an assured her of a grateful return on his part, and finally proffered her an equal share in the administration of affairs. The prospect was tempting; but the Begum, well acquainted with the characteristic perfidy of the Rohilla, resolved to defend her sovereign, rejected all his solicitations; and to give proof of her resolution to maintain the king's authority, she with her whole force

repaired to the palace, and declared her intention of sacrificing her life in his majesty's cause. Her appearance gave great consolation to the king; and some other officers at the same time assembling troops, the court began to talk in a higher strain toward the rebel. Matters drew near to a crisis. Gholaum Cadir, baffled in his attempts to acquire the Begum's support, when informed of what had passed, was inflamed with savage fury. Going to his camp on the opposite bank of the Jumna, he thence dispatched a messenger to court, demanding, in terms most peremptory, the immediate removal of Somroo's wife, adding, that in the event of non-compliance he should proceed to hostilities. His message having been treated with the contempt it deserved, Gholaum Cadir commenced a heavy cannonade upon the royal palace.* This was answered from some artillery in the fort, from the guns attached to the Mogul battalions in his majesty's service, and from a battery which had been erected with great expedition by Begum Somroo. Considerable damage was done to the palace by this outrageous insult; but the king's troops behaving with great firmness and spirit, it is most probable the Rohilla would have been compelled to retire. For the present, however, he was saved by the treacherous machination of his associate within the fort. The Nazir suddenly declared that the royal treasury was exhausted, and refused to make any further disbursements for the troops. This untoward circumstance on so critical an occasion, greatly embarrassed his majesty's affairs; but, as the urgency of the

* Syud Rezzi Khan's *MS.* narrative

case required some immediate steps, the royal jewels and several articles of the household were deposited to raise a sum of money, which was immediately given to the soldiery. During this disgraceful scene, intelligence arrived that the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by a large army, was on his march to the capital. Of this event the Nazir conveyed private information to Gholaum Cadir, and foreseeing that the prince's arrival would disconcert his perfidious schemes, he strongly recommended the Rohilla to make immediate overtures for a pacification, to which he doubted not the king would agree. No time was to be lost; Gholaum Cadir, therefore, having signified to his majesty his sincere contrition for the late insult, presented a handsome paishcush in ready money, and, moreover promised to restore all the royal lands in Doo Ab which he had lately usurped. To these offers Shah-Aulum, who knew the insincerity of the Rohilla, would not have consented, but, urged by the repeated solicitations of the Nazir, whom by a blind infatuation he deemed a faithful servant, at length acquiesced in the proposals. The terms being settled, an honorary dress was dispatched over the river to Gholaum Cadir Khan, who immediately after receiving it, struck his camp, and returned to Sahaurunpore.

Scarcely had he departed when letters from the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht arrived at court. In these, after acquainting his father of his rapid approach, he congratulated him on the prospect now afforded of punishing the rebel, and earnestly requesting the king not to enter into terms. The intimation arrived too

late. To account for the prince's re-appearance at the capital, we must now proceed to a brief review of the occurrences of his life.

The death of Nujeeb Al Dowla in 1769, and the intrigues of the Marhattas having, as already related, recalled Shah-Aulum to his capital, the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht from that period continued to reside with his father. During the various revolutions which occurred, the prince, by living in a retired state, and forbearing to interfere with public affairs, escaped from the perilous situation of the contending parties. But the conduct of Afrasiab Khan having as before remarked, excited in his breast a just indignation, Mirza Juwaun Bukht resolved to seek an asylum at the court of Oude. In the year 1784 he effected his escape from the palace; and, accompanied only by a few persons, he crossed the Jumna, and afterwards the Ganges, from whence he repaired to Rampore, the capital of Faizoolah Khan*. He was received by that chief with every attention due to his high rank, and treated with profuse hospitality. At his departure, the benevolent Rohilla directed a detachment of horse to accompany him to the vazir's frontier.

On his arrival at Lucknow, the prince was recevied by the vazir and the British Governor-General, who had lately repaired to Oude, in order to make some arrangements in the affairs of that province. At Mr. Hastings'

* See a particular detail of the prince's escape, translated from the Persian language, by Captain Jonathan Scott, at the end of a very interesting memoir written by Mr. Hastings, late Governor-General of India.

suggestion, the vazir was induced, not only to extend his protection to the fugitive prince, but to allow him a provision of four lacks of rupees for the support of his establishment, and, moreover, furnish him with a house and every suitable convenience becoming his dignity. On the Governor's departure for Benares, the prince, from motives of gratitude, resolved to accomprny him to that place, where an event occurred which awakened his ambition, and determined him to return to his father's court. Hearing of the death of Afrasiab Khan, the prince applied to Mr. Hastings to assist him with an armed force, to accompany him to Delhi, for the recovery of his authority; but the Governor, not deeming himself authorized to interfere in the politics of Delhi, declined his assent. Mirza Juwaun Bukht, on the Governor's departure for Calcutta, returned to Lucknow. where he had not long been, when a visible alteration was perceived in the behaviour of Asuf al Dowla. The cause of the breach that ensued between them has not been correctly ascertained; by some it was alleged, that the want of punctuality in the payment of the prince's stipend, occasioned a sharp animadversion on his part; on the other hand, it was affirmed, and probably with some reason, that the vazir was not altogether so well pleased at the diminution his own revenues sustained in granting the allowance before mentioned; but such sentiments were surely unworthy of the vazir of the empire, whose family had risen to power by the favour of his majesty's ancestors, and on which account the prince ought to have been treated with all imaginable kindness. Certain, however, it is, that the prince, in

consequence of the slights which he received, determined him to remove from the court of Oude. In 1785, he repaired to Benares, and made another, though ineffectual, attempt to interest the British government in affording him assistance for the re-establishment of his authority at Delhi. His application failed of success; but Mirza Juwaun Bukht was assured that an asylum for himself and his family would always be readily granted within the company's territories, and as his highness declined returning to Lucknow, an order was issued upon the company's treasury at Benares, for the payment of the stipend which had been allowed him by the vazir. In a situation so eligible, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, had he properly appreciated it, might have passed the remainder of his days in happiness and comfort; but a restless spirit of ambition impelled him to enter into the politics of the times, and in the end caused him inconceivable anxiety and the most bitter, though unavailing, regret. Not, however, to anticipate our narrative, it is here sufficient to remark, that about this period Earl Cornwallis, who had been nominated to the supreme government in India, arrived at the city of Benares in his way to the vazir's court. To him, the Shah Zada in the most pressing manner, renewed his solicitations for assistance from the English; but Earl Cornwallis, adopting the same line of conduct as his predecessors, was compelled to give a decided negative to his requests. The Governor-General*, however, from motives highly to be commended, seriously advised the prince to remain where he was; he assured him that

* *MS.* narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

the respect entertained by the British Government towards his illustrious house, would ever be evinced, by rendering his highness such assistance as did not militate against the general line of policy which they had adopted in their concerns with the princes of Hindostaun, and, finally, his lordship concluded with observing to his highness, that the company's territories would always afford him a safe and honourable asylum.

Soon after this conference, the Governor-General pursued his journey to Oude, whither the prince followed him. By the good offices of Earl Cornwallis as interview between the prince and the vazir was effected, and an apparent reconciliation ensued: we affirm apparently only, for the subsequent conduct of the vazir, after Earl Cornwallis's departure, satisfied the prince that this reconciliation was pretended. Abandoned by the court of Oude and finding he had nothing to expect from the English government, Mirza Juwaun Bukht now directed his whole attention toward raising an army.* Himmut Bahadur, the Goshaien, and some other chiefs, having offered their services on this occasion, invited the prince to a conference on the plains of Brindabun, in the neighbourhood of Agra. By their assistance, he, in a short time, assembled a considerable force, and being at the same time joined by the Mogul chief, Ismaeel Beg, the prince took the road to Delhi.

At the close of the current year he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, where he was met by his family and his brother, the prince Akbar Shah. The

* It was at this time he wrote the letter, which appears in the Appendix, No. 3.

next morning he made his entry into the capital in great state, when Shah-Aulum, by the warmth of his embraces, testified the joy which he experienced on the return of the heir-apparent after so long and distressing an absence. The prince was immediately invested with the sole management of affairs; and there once more seemed a prospect of relief from that vexation which the royal family had for a series of years undergone. The Marhatta usurpation was overthrown, and the rebellious chief of Sahaurunpore had lately made ample submission: appearances so flattering were, however, by the machinations of an ungrateful and wicked man too soon overclouded. The Nazir, envious of the prince's authority, and constant in his attachment to the turbulent Gholaum Cadir, set at work every engine to sow dissension in the royal family, and alienate the king's mind from his son.

Some days after the prince's arrival, the Nazir, in concert with other lords whom he had gained over to his party, demanded in full Durbar the payment of certain arrears, which he alleged to be due to the troops from the royal treasury. The funds being at that time insufficient, he well knew this demand would embarrass the prince; but, contrary to expectation, the prince, with much spirit appealed to his father, and declared that as the assignments for those arrears were given during the Nazir's administration, he alone ought to be held responsible for their liquidation. To this opinion the king not only assented, but in severe terms commanded the Nazir to desist. Though baffled in a first attempt, the Nazir was firmly resolved to try a second;

in which, much to the discredit of Shah-Aulum, he was but too successful. Secure in the confidence of his sovereign, which he so shamefully abused, he had the audacity to insinuate to the king suspicions of the prince's loyalty. On this occasion, he observed to his majesty, that the high pitch of authority to which he had elevated his son, would no doubt inspire him with the design of rising still higher; and that, as the king was now rapidly advancing in years, and consequently incapable of vigorous exertion, the prospect of ascending the throne of Hindostaun was too seducing to be passed over by a person even less ambitious than his son: that his late efforts crowned with success, and being at the head of an army, gave him entire and uncontrolled authority; and these advantages were, when opportunity offered, powerful inducements, as well as fit instruments, for the completion of his most aspiring views.

These insinuations, however unworthy, made a deep impression upon a mind debilitated by age, and obscured in its intellectual vigour and energy by a long series of despondency and misfortune. The audacious presumption of the interested servant was forgotten, and an eye of suspicion cast upon the services of a faithful and hitherto-beloved son.

The effects of the Nazir's treachery soon became apparent.—Mirza Juwaun Bukht, who since his return, had bestowed unremitting attention to the re-establishment of good order and tranquillity at the capital, now solicited the king's permission to take the command of the army, and at the same time for his majesty to accompany it in person during its progress. He pointed

out the propriety and good effect that might be expected from his majesty's making a circuit through the Doo Ab, which, he judiciously observed, would contribute much to calm the minds of the people, agitated as they had been during the late troubles ; and give additional consequence to his majesty's authority, now re-estabiished under such happy auspices.

Tho proposal, however salutary and wise, was, to the astonishment of the prince, rejected by his father with the most frigid indifference. He now too plainly perceived that some secret machinations had been set on foot to instil into the king's mind the most base and unjust suspicions ; and, therefore, disdaining to remain at court, where he was treated so unworthily, he determined to remove to a distance, in hopes that time and absence would contribute to efface such impression from his father's mind. Having obtained the king's permission to repair to Agra, of which place he had lately been appointed governor, the prince, accompanied by his whole family and a small escort, quitted the court, to which he never more returned.

Ismaeel Beg, who was at that time besieging Agra, at first received the prince with the utmost respect and submission : but his subsequent conduct evinced, that in his heart this ungrateful chief was actuated by sentiments far different from the loyalty and fidelity due to his soveriegn ; and perceiving the untoward state of his affairs, he looked only to the preservation of his own consequence. The prince, compelled by urgent necessity and the very low state of his finances, requested of Ismaeel Beg to adjust the affairs of the

province, and to make over to him a suitable assignment for the support of the small force which had accompanied him from Delhi, and who, from long arrears, had become clamorous for pay. The Mogul chief lent a deaf ear to his solicitations ; and inflamed with pride, accompanied his refusal with disrespectful language to the prince. Disgusted at this treatment from a disobedient subject, Mirza Juwaun Bukht quitted Agra, and repaired to the camp of Gholaum Cadir Khan, who was then in the neighbourhood of Deig : but meeting with similar treatment from that chief, and likewise narrowly escaping from a treacherous plot laid to entrap his person by the perfidious Rohilla, the prince now for ever relinquished all hope of re-instating himself in his authority. As a last mark of attachment and affection to his friends, he disposed of such effects as remained from the wreck of his fortunes, which he divided equally among them ; after which, attended only by his family and a few select adherents, with an aching heart he once more took the road to Benares, and repaired to his former asylum among the English. The generosity of that nation again received him, and confirmed to him his former allowances under disposal of Mr. Duncan, the British resident. To follow his eventful life to its close, it is only necessary to remark, that after some months' residence at that place, he terminated both his life and misfortunes. The circumstances which attended his death are particular.* About the middle of September of the current year, he paid a visit to the

* *MS.* Narrative of Saiyid Rezzi Khan.

shrine of a Mahomedan saint at the fortress of Chunar; and on his return appeared much exhausted by the fatigues of the day and an intense hot sun. Towards midnight he grew worse; and though every assistance was afforded him, both by his own and European physicians, it proved of no avail. At the dawn of day he arose, and in great agitation proceeded to the apartments of his favourite concubine, where, on his arrival, he called for an infant child who was asleep; but before the child could be brought, he was attacked with violent spasms, and during a short interval from pain, had just sufficient time to dictate a letter to the British Governor-General, recommending his family to the protection of the English nation, which being finished, he expired quietly a few minutes after, in the forty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred with every suitable attention and honours due to his high rank. Agreeably to his desire, the pension which had been allowed him was continued to his family.

Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, though from capacity not fitted for the busy scenes of active life, nor possessing any talents for government, was nevertheless irreproachable in his private character, and deemed by all an accomplished gentleman. To his friends he was constant, and to his dependants humane and benevolent. His domestic qualities and filial piety have been already exhibited to the world by testimony the most respectable;* and in his disposition he possessed, in an eminent degree, that characterestic amiability, which successive historians have unanimously attributed to the princes of the house of Timoor.

* See Mr. Hastings' Letter from Lucknow, April 1784.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival of Ranah Khan in the Doo Ab—Affairs in the Jypore Province—Spirited Conduct of Begum Somroo—Occurrences—Ismaeel Beg is defeated—Junction of that Chief with Gholaum Cadir Khan—Their Intrigues—Shah-Aulum is dethroned—Occurrences—Conclusion.

Sindiah, who, as related in the preceding pages, had retired after his defeat across the river Chumbul, and waited for a reinforcement in the neighbourhood of Gwalior. The new levies being arrived from Deccan at the commencement of the current year, he, at their head, entered the Doo Ab. The arrival of the Marhatta chief, while it encouraged the king to hope for relief from his distresses, at the same time, awakened the fears of the Mogul lords, who were well aware that their late conduct towards their sovereign would not be passed over with impunity. They connected themselves, therefore, by firmer bonds, and prepared to resist the Marhatta arms.

Ismaeel Beg still lay before Agra, but from the active vigilance of Lukwajee, the Marhatta general, he had hitherto made but slow progress in the siege of that place. During these transactions, affairs at court had assumed a different aspect: Shah-Aulum quitting Delhi, marched his army into the province of Jynaghur. Pertaub Sing, ruler of that country, in omitting to send to court the accustomed tribute, evinced his disaffection

to the royal cause, and excited the resentment of the court. Pertaub Sing assembled his army on the frontiers, and appeared disposed to resist; but on the approach of the king's troops, he was, through the persuasion of Rajah Himmut Bahadur, induced to offer terms of submission. The later chief, who had great influence with the king, had the address to oppose his anger, and by promising, on the part of Pertaub Sing, a considerable sum in ready money, and a future increase of the tribute, he prevailed on his majesty to pardon his disaffection. As the king's necessities were then very great, these concessions were accepted without difficulty, and, to complete the reconciliation, the Jynaghur prince was introduced into the royal camp, clothed in a splendid khillut, and, afterwards, in an honourable manner, dismissed to his own capital.

These matters being arranged, Shah-Aulum proceeded on his route, and on his march continued to receive the submission of various inferior zemindars, who, from their remote situation, had been enabled to withhold payment of the revenues, and, for a series of years, to bid defiance to the court with impunity. One discontented chief alone still withheld his allegiance; Nujuff Cooli Khan, who, it may be remembered, took an active part during the administration of the late Afrasiab Khan, was at this time in possession of the strong fort of Gocul Gurh. When summoned to surrender himself to Shah-Aulum, he peremptorily refused submission, and prepared himself for a vigorous resistance. Prior to the commencement of hostilities, an effort was made through the influence of the Nazir to effect

an amicable accommodation; by his advice Nujuff Cooli Khan offered, if his majesty would condescend to confer upon him the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah, to which, from his birth and connections, he deemed himself entitled, he would with all humility, not only immediately deliver up the fort of Gocul Gurh, but, moreover, forward to court a paishcush of six lacks of rupees; he concluded his proposal by observing, that such a mark of the royal favour was the only means of preserving him from the resentment of his numerous and inveterate enemies who were bent on his total overthrow. These proposals were laid before a council assembled at that time, and the king, from a desire of preserving peace, would have acceded to the terms prescribed, but some leading men in the council inclined his majesty to other measures; they represented Nujuff Cooli Khan as a man void of honour or principle, whose present proposals were only a cover to designs of a more ambitious nature, and dictated by the most insidious policy, that, when once firmly established in the high office of Ameer Al Omrah, and beyond the power of control, he would then treat his sovereign with his accustomed insolence and disrespect; they, therefore, urged his speedy chastisement. Swayed by these councils, the king, having first dismissed the messenger of Nujuff Cooli Khan, commanded an immediate investiture of the fort. The royal army at this time was composed of several battalions of Najeebs, the body guard, called the red battalion; a very considerable body of Mogul horse; and three disciplined battalions of Seapoys, which

had belonged to the late Somroo, and were then commanded by his Begum in person, and furnished with a respectable artillery served by European cannoneers. The headquarters of Nujuff Cooli Khan were at a village about one mile distant from the fort. The remainder of his force, under the command of Munsoor Khan, were stationed in Gocul Gurh. The rebel entrenchments being strongly fortified, his majesty directed Rajah Himmut Bahadur and Shah Meer Khan, with a chosen detachment, to erect batteries against the village and with the remainder of his army, he, in person, invested the fort of Gocul Gurh. The batteries of Himmut Bahadur soon commenced a vigorous fire upon Nujuff Cooli Khan's intrenched post, but at the moment of making an evident impression, an unfortunate accident occurred, which not only changed the face of affairs, but brought the king's person into the most imminent peril.

The officers who served in the camp of Himmut Bahadur, disgusted at their absence from their comrades in the grand army, and harrassed by incessent duty in the trenches, forgot the danger of their situation, and abandoned themselves to the most licentious excess; nor could all the admonition or threats of their commander prevail on them to desist; they passed the whole night in riot and debauchery and the soldiers availing themselves of the pernicious example, indulged themselves in similar excess. Nujuff Cooli Khan, who was equally brave as vigilant, informed by his spies of what was transacting, resolved to profit by the enemy's neglect and folly; having selected a strong

detachment of cavalry, he put himself at their head, and, marching in silence out of his entrenchment, he fell with great violence upon the royal troops as they lay buried in sleep, and under the influence of their late debauch. A dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter now took place, the lines were instantly carried, and a very large booty acquired by the soldiers of Nujuff Cooli Khan. The terror excited by this extraordinary attack was so great, that the news being communicated to the main body of the king's army, they were thrown into disorder, and began to prepare for flight ; nor did the mischief end there, for, to increase the dismay, just at the moment the lines were carried, Munsoor Khan, who commanded in Gocul Gurh, by a preconcerted agreement with Nujuff Cooli Khan, issued out of the town with a strong detachment, and four pieces of cannon. Having, by a circuitous route, reached the rear of the royal army, he commenced a very heavy fire from his artillery ; the confusion in camp now increased tenfold ; everything was uproar, disorder and dismay. The king himself was, by this manoeuvre, exposed to the greatest personal danger, and the royal tents being within range of the shot, many persons about his majesty were killed and wounded. In this distracted state, the king was advised to remove with the royal family, (there being at this time six princes in the camp) to the Herawul, or advanced guard of the army, which was without the range of the enemy's cannon. To that spot, on the first alarm, Shah Meer Khan had repaired, and was endeavouring by his presence and example to animate and rally the

flying troops. The king's tents were accordingly struck, and Shah-Aulum, accompanied by his family, proceeded to the advanced guard. But the misfortune was now happily remedied by the magnanimity and gallantry of Begum Somroo. That spirited woman was encamped to the right of the line; her force remained entire, unaffected by the general panic, and stood ready in dressed ranks. On perceiving the extreme confusion that reigned throughout the line, she bravely resolved, by a personal effort, to prevent the king's disgrace; she sent a respectful message to his majesty, desiring him to repair to her quarters, and assured him of her determined resolution to punish the rebel, or perish in the attempt. At the same time, she on the field, wrote a short note, which she dispatched to Nujuff Cooli Khan, upbraiding him with his ingratitude towards the king, and threatening him with immediate and exemplary chastisement. The gallant lady* then getting into her palanquin, placed herself at the head of 100 of her own seapoys, accompanied by a six-pounder commanded by an European officer. With this detachment she proceeded to the spot occupied by Munsoor Khan, and advancing upon the rebel with much spirit, she commanded her palanquin to be set down, and ordered her artillery to charge with grape shot; a well-directed fire from the gun, assisted by vollies of small arms from the seapoys, soon had the desired effect. Munsoor Khan, astonished at this sudden and unexpected check, began to give ground, and having lost numbers of his men, he retreated with precipitation under the

MS. narrative of Saiyid Rezzi Khan.

walls of the fort. The king's troops having now time to breathe, were rallied, under the direction of Himmut Bahadur and Shah Meer Khan; most of them having rejoined their standards, attacked the enemy in their turn with great spirit, when, after a short, but desperate, conflict, Nujuff Cooli Khan was compelled to retire, but not before the gallant Shah Meer Khan had fallen, pierced by a musket ball. His loss was sincerely and deservedly regretted by the king and the whole army. Order being once more restored, the king directed his tents to be pitched, which done, he bethought of bestowing a suitable reward to the gallant female who had preserved him from imminent destruction. Having sent for her to the Darbar, in the warmest terms he praised her gallantry, and thanked her for the service she had that day rendered him; he clothed her in a magnificent vest, and, in addition to her former titles, honoured her with the appellation of "his most beloved daughter." It was, indeed, by all acknowledged, that the intrepidity manifested by the Begum on so trying an occasion, merited the most honourable reward; to her courage and resolution was owing, not only the safety of the army, but her sovereign's life.

Nujuff Cooli Khan, dispirited by his late defeat, now condescended to talk in a more humble strain, and being well acquainted with the influence of Begum Somroo at court, he endeavoured to avail himself of her good offices to plead his pardon with the king; he declared his sincere contrition for his late intemperate conduct, and offered as an atonement, a larger sum of money than what he had before promised, with profes-

sions of fidelity in future. The king, desirous of repose from the fatigues of the field, was not unwilling to listen to these solicitations, and in a few days a pardon was made out for the rebel chief, and he was received at court. The money agreed on having been paid into the royal treasury, his majesty returned with the army to Delhi.

We must now return to Ismaeel Beg, who was still employed on the siege of Agra when he received the alarming intelligence of the approach of the Marhattas.

Sindiah, who, as before observed, had re-entered the Doo Ab, having, in the course of his route, recovered several fortresses under the Mogul chiefs, and reduced them to obedience, resolved to hazard a general action for the recovery of his authority. For this purpose, he first sent forward his favourite general Ranah Khan, with 6,000 select cavalry, and brought up the remainder of his army in person. They advanced by easy marches towards the city of Agra. Ismaeel Beg, previous to their arrival, had strengthened himself by engagements with Gholaum Cadir Khan, and, if both parties had abided by the compact, it is probable their united force would have defeated the Marhatta army, and destroyed the hopes of Sindiah; but unfortunately for Ismaeel Beg, his versatile associate, at this important crisis, deserted him, and actuated either by caprice or treacherous design, marched away with his whole force, just as the Marhatta army appeared in sight. Thus abandoned, Ismaeel Beg did not yield to the dictates of despondency or pusillanimous fear, but resolving, by his own activity and courage to counterbalance the

defection of his unworthy calleague, he prepared himself for battle on the 22nd of August, in the current year under the walls of Agra ; a desperate action ensued, and so well was the palm of victory contested, that both parties sustained a very heavy loss, but fortune inclining to the Marhattas, Ismaeel Beg was compelled to quit the field, and almost alone to cross the river Jumna ; he fled to the frontiers of the vazir's territory ;—the whole of the camp equipage, treasure, and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors ; and Ranah Khan, on the ensuing morning, made a triumphant entry into Agra ; which surrendered, after sustaining a siege of upwards of a year.

This victory, the most complete that had been gained by the contending parties for many years, ensured the ascendancy of the Marhatta authority ; and had Ranah Khan availed himself of the general panic which it excited, he might have taken immediate possession of Delhi. That step would have entirely defeated the ambitious intrigues of the Mogul nobility, and prevented the degradation and disgrace of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum. But previons to entering into this melancholy detail, it will be necessary to recur to the situation of the fugitive chief, Ismaeel Beg, and of Gholaum Cadir Khan.

Scarcely had the latter chief quitted his associate, when he repented of his perfidy, and would have returned to his assistance, but it was too late ; he learnt the news of his total defeat by Ranah Khan, and finding his force insufficient to make head against the Marhattas, he deemed it for the present more

prudent to decline a contest.—Quitting the neighbourhood of Agra, he suddenly appeared before the fort of Ali Gurh, a place then garrisoned by Sindiah's troops; —by a vigorous assault he carried the fort, and obtained a considerable booty; after leaving a body of his own men in the place, he took the road to Delhi.

It was at this period Gholaum Cadir first formed his resolution to strike a decisive blow: he saw the supineness of the Marhatta army, and the defenceless state of the capital, and being totally void of principle, and heedless of consequences, he formed and executed the bold design of plundering the imperial palace, and dethroning his sovereign. In order to facilitate the accomplishment of his plan, he previously sent letters to his former calleague, Ismaeel Beg, in which, after many apologies for his late behaviour towards that chief, he faithfully promised, for the future to share his fortunes. To excite his compliance, he laid open the proposed method of accomplishing this daring enterprise, and tempted his avaricious spirit with the hopes of rioting in the hidden wealth and treasures which were said to be deposited within the royal palace. To these proposals, however nefarious, Ismaeel Beg, though at the expense of his honour, scrupled not to yield a ready assent. He accordingly quitted the place of his retirement, and shortly after arrived in the camp of Gholaum Cadir. He was received with every mark of cordialliy and respect, and the two chiefs, after making a suitable arrangement of their force, commenced their march towards the capital.

A Marhatta garrison, under the command of Himmut Bahadur, still occupied the fort and city of Delhi. Budel Beg Khan, Solemaun Beg, and other lords, were also at this time about the king. The conspirators, on their arrival at the eastern bank of the river Jumna, opposite to the palace, dispatched a messenger to court, demanding, in insolent and threatening terms, an immediate admission to the royal presence. Shah-Aulum, who was well acquinted with the perfidious disposition of these chiefs, resolutely refused them entrance, and relying on the fidelity and attachment of his nobles, hoped, by their exertions, to defeat the traitors' machinations.— But, alas, how miserably was the unfortunate prince deceived ! Those very men, instigated by the detested policy of the Nazir, entered closely into the views of the rebel chiefs, and forgetful of the confidence and beneficent attention of their king, during a series of thirty years, they hesitated not to abandon him in the hour of his distress. To this defection was added, likewise, that of Raja Himmut Bahadur, who, by a disgraceful and precipitate retreat from his post, sullied his reputation as a soldier, and his loyality as a subject.

Shah-Aulum was thus left in a defenceless state ; and every obstacle being removed, Gholaum Cadir Khan and his wicked associate proceeded to the perpetration of their atrocious design. Two thousand Rohillas accompanied the traitors : on their arrival at the palace, they were met by the Nazir, who introduced them into the king's presence. Gholaum Cadir and Ismaeel Beg, placing themselves on each side the throne, performed the customary reverence. Gholaum Cadir then repre-

sented to his majesty, that, forced by the machinations of his enemies, who had slandered his reputation by calumnious charges, he had come to vindicate himself in the presence.

Shah-Aulum, in reply, declared himself satisfied with the conduct of Gholaum Cadir in every point of view and, in testimony of his esteem, embraced the traitor. It was then hinted to the king, that the hour for his usual repast being arrived, it would be proper for his majesty to retire into the Harem. On his majesty's departure, the chiefs, who remained in the audience chamber, entered into close debate on the execution of their plot. Agreeably to the advice of the Nazir, the treasurer of the husehold, Seetul Dass, was directed to repair to the king, and acquaint him of the necessity which existed of a prince of the royal family being immediately appointed to attend the army in a progress through the provinces ; that Gholaum Cadir would charge himself with the conduct of the war against the Marhattas ; and that, as a pledge for his own honour and safety, the command of the citadel and garrison should be immediately delivered up to such persons as he might choose to nominate. In order, however, to quiet the king's apprehensions, and evince the sincerity of his own intentions, the crafty Rohilla with his own hand framed a treaty, in which, as a return for the confidence that was reposed in him, the traitor solemnly swore to defend the person and interests of the king against all opposition

The treaty being properly signed, Seetul Dass carried it to the outward inclosure of the Harem, where

it was delivered to an attendant, who conveyed it to his majesty. The king having perused it, the treasurer was called in. That nobleman, faithful to his king, frankly told him that no reliance could be placed on the notorious perfidy of the Rohilla chief. He mentioned the cables of the rebels in terms sorrowful and indignant; and, as a testimony of his own loyalty, he offered to return and put Gholaum Cadir Khan to instant death. To induce a compliance with his request, the treasurer urged that there was still a sufficient force within the palace to support the act, and expel the traitor's troops, But the king, by some unaccountable infatuation, refused his sanction to the deed, though it was the only probable means of extricating himself from his perilous situation. He rejected the proposal, and directed the treasurer to return to the rebels, and acquaint them with his acquiescence to the terms of the treaty.

Meanwhile, great numbers of the Rohillas who had entered the palace, penetrated in a tumultuous and disorderly manner into every part ; nor was any step taken by their chiefs to repel the outrages they committed. Shah-Aulum, informed of the circumstance, came forth from the Harem, and going to the audeince chamber, requested Gholaum Cadir that he would, after placing the the proper sentinels within the fort, order the remainder of his troops to withdraw. The traitor professed obedience ; but had no sooner reached the outer gate of the fort, than, instead of making the proposed arrangement, he gave the signal for the remainder of his guards to enter, which they instantly did ; and in a few moments, the fort and

palace, as well as the adjoining fort of Selim Gurh, were in possession of the rebels.

The king's guards were now disarmed, and their officers put into close confinement. The additional insult being reported to the king, he directed an attendant to go to Gholaum Cadir, and in strong terms to remonstrate and reproach him for his conduct,—"The ink*," said the unhappy monarch, with which the solemn "treaty was written is scarce yet dry, when he breaks his faith." The remonstrance proved of no avail ; for the rebel having confined every person who might be able to assist the king, proceeded to the perpetration of additional indignities. Entering armed into the audience chamber, he insolently demanded assignments for the payment of his troops, who were then clamorous for their arrears. The king in vain pleaded his total inability to afford any relief, but told the rebel to seize upon whatever he thought proper within the precincts of the palace. After much altercation, and a disgraceful scene, the unfortunate Shah-Aulum was permitted to return to his Harem, to ruminate on his miserable and degraded state.

The plan now approached its termination. Early on the ensuing morning, the rebels in concert, at the head of a numerous band of followers, well armed, entered the audience chamber where Shah-Aulum was sitting. Completely surrounding the throne, they sternly commanded the princes of the royal family who were present to retire within the Harem.—They obeyed.—Gholaum Cadir then dispatched a messenger to the

* *MS.* narrative of Saiyid Rezzi Khan.

fort of Selim Gurh, which is contiguous to the palace, to bring forth Bedar Shah, a son of the late emperor Ahmad Shah. The traitor then approached the throne, and took up the shield and scymitar, which, as emblems of royalty, were placed on a cushion before the king: these he consigned to the hands of an attendant, and turning towards Shah-Aulum, sternly commanded him to descend; "Better," said the aged monarch, "far better will it be for Gholaum Cadir to plunge his dagger in my bosom, than load me with such indignity;" the Rohilla, frowning, put his hand to his sword, but the Nazir at the instant, stepping up, prevented him from drawing it. With unblushing effrontery he then turned towards his sovereign, and audaciously told him, that resistance being vain, he would do well to comply with the traitor's demand. Abandoned by all, the king then rose from his seat and retired to the Harem, and a few minutes after Bedar Shah made his appearance;—he was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun, under the title of Jehaun Shah, and the customary *Nazars* having been presented, the event was proclaimed to the citizens of Delhi by the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the populace.

In return for these important services, the new king delivered to Gholaum Cadir an order upon the revenues for thirty-six lacks of rupees, a grant in appearance considerable, but, in fact, of no real value, as the distracted state of the country, occasioned by the late disturbances, had totally dried up every source of revenue or emolument and the usurper, though declared sole manager of affairs, could hope to procure wealth

only by extortion. The family of the dethroned king were now directed to retire within the fort of Selim Gurh, and those of Jehaun Shah to occupy their apartments in the palace. Jehaun Shah, however, too soon found himself an idle pageant in the hands of his pretended friends. On applying to Gholaum Cadir to accompany him on a visit to the great cathedral, to receive the royal investiture with the accustomed solemnity in the eyes of the people, the tyrant answered that the time proper for such ceremony was not yet come, and that business of greater moment first demanded his attention; in the meantime great distress prevailed within the walls of the Harem, and the cries of females were heard aloud.

The next step taken by the rebellious chiefs, was to send a party of soldiers to the palace of the two aged princesses, Malika Zimani, and Sahiba Mahal. These ladies were the widows of the deceased emperor Mohammad Shah, and had, for more than twenty years lived in a manner entirely secluded from the world. As they were known, not only very rich, but to possess considerable influence over the royal family, they were now ordered to court, and, on their arrival, directed to visit the Harem, and persuade the females there confined, quietly to deliver up their jewels and valuable effects. The office was invidious.

Some persons in Delhi have not scrupled to affirm, that the princesses refused compliance with the order, and pleaded their advanced age and high rank as reasons for declining the office; but, on the other hand, they are accused of having encouraged the usurper, and to

have endeavoured, by intrigue, to form a secret treaty to raise to the throne a relation of their own. Certain it is they visitid the Harem, but without the success expected, and, on their return, declined further interference; this conduct contributed only to exasperate the tyrant. With inhuman rapacity he caused those venerable ladies to be robbed of all their property, which the benevolence of their emperor, in more prosperous days, had bestowed upon them, and they were afterwards commanded to retire to their own habitation.

The thirty-six lacks of rupees, as before stated, not coming into the treasury, Gholaum Cadir insolently threatened the new king with his severe displeasure, and added, in terms sarcastically poignant, that as he had elevated him to his present dignity, he could, with equal facility, deprive him of it. Perceiving the tyrant's drift, Jehaun Shah retired into the Harem, and having, partly by menaces and alternate soothings, constrained the unhappy women to deliver up their jewels and ornaments, and other valuables, he sent them in trays to Gholaum Cadir. The royal family were by this means, reduced to great distress; the cries within the Harem became much louder, and their sufferings more acute; and with sorrow we relate, that to so high a pitch was it carried, that some of the inferior order of females actually perished for want, or, urged by the bitterness of despair, raised their hands against their own lives. Insensible to the general distress, and unsatiated with plunder, Gholaum Cadir Khan finding he had nothing more to expect from the new king,

proceeded to the last act of wanton cruelty. He sent for the dethroned king and all the princes of the royal family to the audience chamber; on their arrival, he sternly commanded Shah-Aulum to discover his concealed treasures; in vain did the king plead his degraded state, and the consequent inability to conceal even the smallest article. Inflamed by a continual debauch, which had thrown him into a paroxysm of rage the tyrant threatened his sovereign with instant loss of sight; "What!" exclaimed the suffering prince, (we quote the literal expressions of a native author*). "What! will you destroy those eyes, which for a period of sixty years have been assiduously employed in perusing the sacred Koran?"

Regardless of the pathetic appeal. the Rohilla, with characteristic inhumanity, commanded his attendants to seize the king. Having thrown him on the floor, the ferocious ruffian implanting himself on his bosom, transfixed with a piognard the eyes of his venerable sovereign! On the completion of this horrid deed, Gholaum Cadir ordered the king to be removed to a distant apartment. The miserable Shah-Aulum, pale and bleeding, was conducted to his retreat; there, in all the bitterness of anguish, to contemplate on his now ruined fortunes. Emphatic, indeed, were the expressions of the same native author in relating the fallen condition of his sovereign: "This wretch," (exclaims the indignant historian) "this accursed wretch, has in one fatal moment darkened the bright star of the august Timorian family, and buried in the whirlpool of destruction the stately

MS. of Saiyid Rezzi Khan.

vessel of imperial authority !" The king, however, evinced under such accumulated misfortunes, a firmness of mind and resignation highly honourable in his character; and it may not be unworthy to remark, that the natives of Asia in general, probably from the principles of predestination which they imbibe from their youth, are observed to sustain themselves under misfortune, in a manner worthy of imitation by the European Christian.

Shah-Aulum surviving the loss of his sight during his confinement, solaced himself in contemplative reveries, and in composing elegiac verses, descriptive of his deplorable state*.

But from such heart-rending scenes, let us hasten to relate the remaining actions of this execrable monster. His next victim was the infamous Nazir. This man, through whose disloyalty and ingratitude Gholaum Cadir had been enabled to perpetrate his atrocities, now most deservedly experienced the effects of his perfidious conduct He was directed by the tyrant to give in an inventory of his property and effects, and on refusing to comply, he was seized and put into close confinement, when his ill-gotten wealth was forcibly taken from him, thus exhibiting to the world an exemplary instance of retributive justice for his demerits.

As Gholaum Cadir's wealth accumulated, his avarice rose to a proportionate degree; and blind to the impolicy of such a step, he refused to make an equal division of the spoil with his guilty associate. Ismaeel Beg.

* *MS.* narrative of Saiyid Rezzi Khan. See the Appendix No. 4.

incensed at this treatment, resolved to abandon him. He accordingly withdrew his guards from the place, and retired to his own house. From thence he dispatched letters to the Marhatta general acknowledging his errors, and offering to atone for them by professions of future obedience and fidelity, and declaring his readiness to join the Marhattas in any measures toward the tyrant's expulsion.

The supineness of the Marhatta government during the late disgraceful transactions, has been deservedly reprobated, and is difficult to be accounted for on any principle of policy or advantage to the state. Indeed, the unhappy monarch, from a strange combination of circumstances, seems to have been forsaken by all his friends when he most needed their assistance; and it is much to be regretted that the state of British politics at that time did not admit of interference on the part of his old and, till now, faithful allies.

Sindiah, when informed of the late tragical events, ordered his general, Ranah Khan, to march forthwith to Delhi, expel the traitor, and liberate Shah-Aulum from his confinement. These orders were obeyed with a willing alacrity on the part of Ranah Khan; and he exerted himself with so much diligence, that the van of the Marhatta army was in sight of the capital, when Gholaum Cadir Khan, awakened from his dream of riot and intemperence, received the first tidings of the enemy's approach. Finding his situation in the imperial palace to be untenable, he prepared for flight; but previous to his departure, he collected the plunder, and taking the new king along with him, with all the

princes of the royal family, together with the infamous Nazir, he quitted the fort by a private passage, and crossing the river Jumna, effected his retreat to Meerut, a town in the centre of the Doo Ab, and distant about sixty miles from Delhi.

On the flight of Gholaum Cadir, the Marhatta general advanced, and took possession of the city and palace. His first care was to release the dethroned king, cause him to be proclaimed in Delhi, and furnish him with every thing necessary for his convenience or comfort. Ranah Khan having then placed a strong garrison in the citadel, immediately set out in pursuit of the rebel chief. Previous, however, to that step he, by order of Sindiah, afforded Ismaeel Beg a liberal suppy of money for the payment of his discontented soldiers; and directed that chief to proceed to the districts of Rewari and Gocul Gurh, whence he was commanded to expel Nujuff Cooli Khan, who had beheld with indifference the late enormities at Delhi.

These arrangements being finished, Ranah Khan crossed the Jumna. On his second day's march, he was joined by a Marhatta chief, named Ali Bahadur, who had for some time past been employed in Bundelcund*, and now brought with him a body of 4,000 horse in support of the general cause. The united force then proceeded to Meerut, which was garrisoned by a strong force of Rohillas, who still adhered to the tyrant's cause. Ranah Khan, not having any heavy artillery, was prevented from forming a regular siege; he, therefore, drew a line of circumvallation around, and blockaded the fort. This

* A province to the south-west of Allahabad.

mode would, he apprehended, compel the garrison to a surrender, by the supplies from without being completely cut off: nor was he deceived in the expectation; for a dearth of provisions ensuing, the Rohillas began to sustain great inconvenience. Gholaum Cadir endeavoured, by repeated sallies, to animate his troops, and repel the besiegers. In every encounter the intrepid chief exhibited a gallantry and resolution that would have done honour to a better cause. But finding all his efforts fruitless, aud the garrison having now become mutinous, he determined to attempt an escape.

Attended by 500 horse, who were still attached to him, he, at their head, rushed out of the fort, and charged the enemy so vigorously, that though every endeavour was exerted to take him prisoner, he made his way through the whole line, and accomplished his escape. But, at length, his own troops perceiving his forlorn condition, began by degrees to drop off; so that in a short time he was left quite alone; and, to complete his mishap, his horse, exhausted by fatigue, sunk under him, and he received in the fall a severe contusion. This accident compelled him to take refuge in an adjoining village, where, being recognised by the zemindar of the place, he was seized, and put into confinement. Information of this circumstance having been conveyed to Ali Bahadur, that chief sent a party of horse, who conducted him into the Marhatta camp. On the rebel's flight from Meerut, the garrison surrendered at discretion. Their lives were spared, and the princes of the royal family were released from their confinement and under an honourable escort conveyed to Delhi. On

their arrival, Jehaun Shah, after suffering severely for his short-lived elevation, was remanded back to his former abode in the fort of Selim Gurh.

On the reduction of Meerut, Ranah Khan led his army to Sahaurunpore, which place, on hearing the fate of Gholaum Cadir, submitted to the Marhatta authority who, from that time, have remained undisturbed masters of the whole province.

Soon after this event, Ranah Khan with the army returned to Delhi, where by this time the Maharajah Sindiah was likewise arrived, and had resumed his former authority in the state. The punishment of the rebel was too remarkable to be passed over in silence; nor did his guilty associate, the Nazir, escape the just vengeance of his insulted sovereign.

Gholaum Cadir, on his arrival in the Marhatta camp, was carried into the presence of the general; when, after repeated demands to discover the place where he had deposited the plunder of the palace, on his refusing to comply, he was delivered over to a punishment terrible indeed. He was first placed in an iron cage, constructed for the occasion, and in this situation was suspended in front of the army. After sustaining the insults and indignities of the soldiers, his nose, ears, hands, and feet, were cut off: and in this mutilated and miserable condition he was, by order of Ali Bahadur, sent off to Delhi; but, on the journey, death relieved the miserable wretch from his sufferings: thus dreadfully atoning for the crimes of his savage and abandoned life!—The Nazir, on his arrival at Delhi, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant.

The melancholy events passing so rapidly in review, whilst relating the transactions of an Asiatic Durbar, can afford to a benevolent mind little to contemplate with pleasure or attention: but the picture, however disgusting, may notwithstanding be viewed to advantage. A British reader might, on this review, direct his inspection inwards; and while he execrates the insatiate spirit and detestable ambition which can thus actuate men to the commission of such enormities, he may place before his fatigued mind the more pleasing contrast of the situation and invaluable blessings of his native land—blessings, which teach him more highly to value and to venerate that happy constitution, which is founded upon an immutable and immortal principle, that a British sovereign can do no wrong.

Soon after the arrival of the Marhatta army, Sindiah appointed a day for re-instating the deposed king on the throne of his ancestors; and the ceremony was performed in the grand hall of audience with much pomp and solemnity. An allownce was, moreover, assigned to his majesty of nine lacks of rupees per annum for the support of his family and household, the superintendence of which was committed to Shah Nizam Al Deen, a dependant on the Marhatta chief.*

---

* Whatever might have been the real intentions of Sindiah when he made this grant, in appearance so liberal, it cannot be denied but his kindness failed of effect; and it may be affirmed with justice, that from the character which this chief originally assumed of protector of the injured rights of the Great Mogul, he, in fact, became the oppressor Intent only on his own aggrandisement, and in effectuating his plans at the Poonah Durbar, the Marhatta chief detained the unhappy king in an apparently

After the terrible punishment of Gholaum Cadir Khan, the order of our narrative leads to the situation of Ismaeel Beg. That nobleman, as already observed, had been detached by order of Sindiah to reduce Nujuff Cooli Khan, at that time in the neighbourhood of Rewari. On his arrival in the district, Ismaeel Beg was informed of the death of his antagonist, whose troops were then under the command of his widow, a woman of masculine spirit and unbounded ambition. Well acquainted with the active bravery of Ismaeel Beg, the Begum proposed to him a coalition of interests; and, to excite his hopes of success in a resistance of the Marhatta authority

---

honourable, but really miserable, confinement; and during his own absence, he delegated his power to a crafty and designing dependant, who permitted the king and his family to want the common necessaries of life: a circumstance which inflicts indelible disgrace on Sindiah's memory. This assertion would appear overstrained, and the circumstance, perhaps, too highly coloured were it not notorious to all Delhi, that out of the above sum allotted in *Jaghire* for the king's maintenance, he has seldom received more than 50,000 rupees per annum, and that frequently ill paid. To be convinced of the truth of this fact, the author, when at Delhi, made particular inquiry, and was assured by a nobleman of the court, Syud Rezzi Khan, Colonel Palmer's Vakeel that this was an actual fact.—This nobleman resides at the capital on the part of the English Ambassador, as well as that of the vazir, Asuf Al Dowla, for the purpose of disbursing to his majesty the sum of two thousand rupees per month for his privy purse. (which is termed Zurr-i-Khass); and this money, together with a few trifling presents received when persons are presented at court, is all the lineal descendant of Timoor obtains for the support of himself and his thirty children, residing within the precincts of the imperial palace.

she proffered him the forces and treasures of her deceased lord. The natural and hereditary avertsion entertained by Ismaeel Beg against the Marhatta nation, inclined him, without much reflection, to accede to these proposals. He accordingly marched his own force to the town of Canoor, the place where the Begum then resided, and which was actually besieged by the Marhattas.

Notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the enemy, he threw himself into the place, and endeavoured by repeated and spirited sallies to prevent its fall. Unfortunately, in one of those encounters, the Begum herself, who with a gallantry and spirit not uncommon among the females of Hindostaun, was accustomed to be present in action, was slain by a cannon ball. This misfortune occasioned a defection in her troops to their obedience of Ismaeel Beg, and which had, during her life-time, been kept within proper bounds. The principal leaders entering into a cabal against the Mogul chief, agreed to deliver him up to the Marhattas, with whom they had commenced a negotiation. But however secretly the treaty, on this occasion, was made, it soon reached the ears of Ismaeel Beg; and, he, to prevent the effects of this treachery, was prevailed upon by his friends to a voluntary surrender, requesting only a guarantee for his personal safety. This was readily granted him under the faith of General Duboigne, at that time of high command in the Marhatta army. Some few days after, Ismaeel Beg entered the camp, from whence he w s sent off a prisoner to the fort of Agra in which state he has since continued. While the Marhatta influence obtains permanency at the court of

Delhi, it is probable he will continue under restraint, as that politic and wary people will never suffer so active and intriguing a man to be enlarged. But should any unforeseen event, in the hazardous system of the present politics, occasion a decline, or extinction of their authority, there is little doubt but this active and vigilant partizan will again bear a conspicuous share in the revolutions.

Among the numerous adventurers who have for a series of years emigrated from the regions of the north to the provinces of Hindostaun, few have possessed greater military talents than Ismaeel Beg. Inured to arms at an early period of life under the tuition of his uncle, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, he distinguished himself on several occasions by his superior valour and ability: and if, on a review of his character, we except the culpability justly attached to him for the share he bore in the transactions of Gholaum Cadir, we must allow Ismaeel Beg the merit of an active, gallant soldier; to which, by the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, may be added that of an accomplished man, generous in disposition, and kind and liberal to his followers and dependants.

Of the fate of the remaining persons who shared in the various revolutions recorded through this volume the Begum Somroo deserves notice. The fidelity exhibited by this spirited lady in defence of her sovereign on various occasions, merited a better return than that which she was destined to experience. The chiefs in the Marhatta army had long beheld with jealous inquietude the influence she had acquired with the king;

and Sindiah himself appears not to have been wholly free from this imputation: for, though he cannot be charged with giving directions to degrade the Begum from her dignity, his not taking immediate steps to make reparation for the affront, must appear to every unprejudiced mind highly to his discredit. On the other hand, it must, with equal impartiality, be confessed, that the conduct of this lady gave her enemies great advantage.

During the whole of her administration, until the period before us, she, by prudence and a circumspect conduct, governed her territory with honour and advantage. Her troops respected her valour, and her officers yielded a ready obedience to her authority. An unfortunate attachment, however, which she formed for one of those officers, occasioned her severe vexation and distress; and, inconsistently with her usual prudence, she had granted him her hand in marriage. Mr. Vaissaux, a German adventurer, was the person selected; who, though a man of abilities, and who had rendered essential service to the Begum in the management of her artillery and other military concerns, was nevertheless of a haughty disposition and stern manners, which unfortunately for both, proved the source of a disastrous event.

The Begum was strongly dissuaded from this step by her friends, and by none more than the king, who, in this ill-fated marriage, scrupled not to predict the total downfall of her authority, a prediction too soon to be fulfilled. By the secret instigation of the Marhatta leaders, the chief officers and servants of the Begum

entered into a conspiracy, and resolved on her deposition. —To give a sanction to their proceedings in the eyes of the people, they invited the Nuwaub Zuffer Yâb Khan, son of the deceased Somroo, by a former wife, to accept of the government as his just inheritance. This young man, turbulent in manners, and of a worthless character, had received, through the bounty of the Begum, an ample allowance for his support, ever since his father's death; but his conduct had given her such disgust, that she had forbidden his appearance at her own residence. He was living at Delhi when the offer of the conspirators arrived; undisturbed by any scruples of conscience, and not impressed by any sentiment of gratitude or affection, he accepted the offer with avidity, and repairing to the town of Serdhauna, in private, he waited the event with impatience.

A few days subsequent to the Begum's marriage, she prepared to accompany her husband in a circuit through her *Jaghire*. They had scarcely quitted the town of Serdhauna, when a mutiny broke out among her own troops, and at the same instant, Zuffer Yâb Khan, who had been privately living in the town, now rushed forth with a body of Marhattas, seized on the town, and was proclaimed Jaghirdar. Informed of this event, the Begum endeavoured, by the most studied attention and cogent argument, to induce her troops to return to their allegiance, but in vain; long resolved on their plan, they were heedless of her solicitations, and seized and confined both herself and husband. This unfortunate man perceiving himself in the power of his enemies, and disdaining submission, in a fit of

desperation put a period to his existence ; and the Begum was then reconducted to her capital, only to behold the rebellion of her subjects, and the elevation of her ungenerous relative, to the Musnud.*

After the settlement of the government at Delhi, Sindiah directed his attention to the subjugation of the different Rajpoot states, who, during the late disturbances and frequent revolutions, had become, in a great measure, independent of the court. In this arduous undertaking he was assisted by the professional abilities of an European officer of distinguished eminence. Mr. Duboigne, a gentleman formerly in the service of the East India Company, had, of late years, upon advantageous offers being made to him, entered into that of Sindiah, and on many occasions had contributed to the ascendancy acquired by that prince over his competitors. Mr. Duboigne, whose acuteness and penetration enabled him to discern the vast superiority which discipline obtains over irregular multitudes, and the

* Though by this outrage, deprived of her authority, the Begum passed not her time in unavailing lamentations ; she had many friends, and by their assistance, aided by the earnest intreaties of the king, she was in the succeeding year, released from her confinement, and once more, though with circumscribed authority, put in possession of her *Jaghire*, where it is the wish of every feeling mind she may long continue. Her attention towards those of our countrymen, who have occasionally visited her territories, has been most hospitable and unremitting, and among others, the author of this history is happy in having an opportunity of adding his testimony of esteem for the kind offices afforded himself and his companions, during a fortnight's residence near her hospitable mansion.

advantages to be derived from the introduction of European tactics, proposed to Sindiah to raise a body of troops, clothed and disciplined, as far as the local and religious prejudices would admit, after the model of the Company's European troops. The proposal was readily accepted on the part of the Marhatta chief, and Mr. Duboigne, who had been raised to the rank of general, prepared to carry it into effect.

In the course of the current year,* the first regular brigade ever attached to the Marhatta service, was raised, clothed, and appointed; it consisted of ten battalions of 750 men each, seven of which battalions were regulars, denominated by the natives, *Tilangas*, clothed and armed with musket and bayonet, like the Company's troops.—The three remaining battalions were Pathans, armed with matchlocks of a new invention; their uniform made after the Persian fashion, and the whole brigade, regulars as well as matchlocks, were exercised by the manual word of command, as practised in European armies. To render the brigade more compact, 500 Mewattis, or irregular soilders, were attached to perform the ordinary routine of camp duties, so that the troops might be ready, on all occasions, for active service—500 cavalry were attached to the brigade, and 60 pieces of well-mounted and well-served artillery, from 3 to 6 and 9 pounders.

In the succeeding years of 1791-2-3, the second and

* The following detail was obligingly communicated to the author by General Duboignel himself, who is now in England, and to whom he begs leave to offer his very hearty acknowledgments.

third brigades were gradually raised of nearly equal force, with the addition of 1,000 Rohillas, for the express purpose of leading the storming parties.—The force thus raised amounted, in the whole, to 24,000 men and 130 pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers of different nations, and directed by the enterprizing spirit and unremitted perseverance of the general who raised them. Their success on a variety of the most trying occasions proved equal to their expectations, and Sindiah confessed his obligations to Mr. Duboigne by reposing in him a confidence almost unlimited, and by the cession of fifty-two districts in the Doo Ab, to be appropriated expressly as *Jaiedad*, for the maintenance of the troops he had raised. Aided by his exertions, he, in the period we have mentioned, not only recovered his former possessions, but in the end extended his influence to the Punjab frontier; by a rapid succession of victories, he defeated the Nuwaub Ismaeel Beg. Gholaum Cadir Khan, the countries of Oudepore and Joudpore, and Jynaghur; and, though he could not absolutely wrest these dominions from the last-mentioned prince, he compelled him to the payment of an annual tribute.

Towards the middle of 1793, his affairs calling him to the west of India, he left Gopaul Row, his lieutenant-general, to manage his affairs in the north, and General Duboigne in the center of his newly-acquired possessions. His power may, at this period, be said to have reached its meridian splendour; his arms again acquired an ascendancy over his contemporaries, and he found himself the leader and preponderating chief of the

whole Marhatta empire—from the confines of Lahore, to the sea of Cambay, he possessed an authority almost unlimited ; while the firmness, energy and activity, which marked the features of his administration, at the same time shed a bright lustre on his character, in the minds of the princes of Hindostaun.

At the close of 1793, Sindiah prepared for his return to the northward, with an intention, as it was supposed, of pushing his arms against the Sikhs ; all looked forward to the future motions of this enterprizing chief in a state of anxious suspense ; but while the different powers were either alarmed by the fear, or excited by the hope, of his appearance amongst them, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, which terminated his existence at the age of sixty-seven.

His character has already been delineated by the record of his actions in the preceding pages ; in conclusion it may be remarked, that from the incessant perseverance with which he laboured to bring to maturity schemes once formed for his own aggrandizement ; had his life been extended, he would, in all probability, have become a formidable antagonist to the interests of Great Britain ; whose rulers were not unacquainted with his active spirit or insatiable ambition. He was succeeded in his paternal dominions by his nephew, Dowlat Row, who has not as yet attained any pre-eminence among the princes in the Marhatta states.

The few remaining years of the reign of Shah-Aulum can afford little on which to expatiate or digress. Reduced to dependence on a foreign power for the support of himself and a numerous family, the duration

of his life cannot materially alter his situation ; the fate of his family, and eventual successor, must remain to be recorded at a future period, but *his* reign may be more properly said to close when he sustained the fatal calamity before mentioned. Shah-Aulum, nominal Emperor of Hindostaun, is in his 75th year. His stature tall and commanding, his aspect dignified and majestic. The ravages of time are discernible on his face, and the recollections of his misfortunes have impressed his features with melancholy. His early youth was passed in spirited, though ineffectual, struggles, to restore the diminished lustre of imperial authority, and his conduct, whilst contending against the usurped power of Gazioodeen Khan, deserves great praise. But in the greater part of his life, little can be found deserving the applause of posterity. Irresolute and indecisive in his measures, he too frequently rendered useless the plans formed by his friends for the recovery of his authority, while his excessive love of pleasure, and infatuated attachment to unworthy favourites, contributed to degrade him in the eyes of his neighbours and allies, and render the small remains of his dominion contemptible. All his ministers, with the exception of Nujuff Khan, were prodigal and rapacious in the extreme ; they perceived the king's weakness, and, by flattering his vanity and supplying his extravagance, ensured to themselves an uncontrolled authority in the state, while they abused the generosity of their sovereign, by committing every species of enormity and oppressive violence.

Shah-Aulum had improved a very good education by study and reflection ; he was a complete master of the

languages of the east, and, as a writer, attained an eminence seldom acquired by persons in his high station. His correspondence with the different princes of the country, during a very long and chequered reign, exhibits proofs of a mind highly cultivated ; and if we may judge by an elegiac essay, composed after the cruel loss of his sight, he appears to have great merit in pathetic composition. In the internal economy of his household, he is universally allowed to be an affectionate parent, a kind master, and a generous patron. His trials have been many, and it is earnestly to be hoped the evening of his life may be passed in a peaceful tranquillity : upon a review of his life and actions, it may, without injustice, be pronounced, that, though Shah-Aulum possessed not a capacity sufficiently vigorous to renovate the springs of a relaxed government, or emulate his illustrious ancestors, he, notwithstanding, had many virtues commendable in a private station; but he unfortunately reigned at a time when the royal authority was in its most degraded state, and when great and shining talents were necessary to render permanent his power, and curb the licentious effusions of rebellious and disobedient subjects. The *Sun of Timoor*, as a respectable historian* has justly observed, is most probably set for ever; and, if a continuation of the metaphor be allowable, it may be added, that the decline and utter extinction of that august family was reserved to the days of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum.

* Captain Jonathan Scott, from whose history of Deccan the author is happy to acknowledge he has received considerable advantage, in elucidating the intricacies of dates under which oriental writers so constantly labour.

Appendix I.

ACCOUNT OF MODERN DELHI.*

THE province of Delhi, agreeably to the description of native geographers, is bounded on the east by Agra, on the west by Lahore, south by Ajmere, and north by the Kummow Hills. Its length, from the town of Pulwul, near Agra, to the river Sutlej, is 160 coses; and its breadth, from the town of Rewari to the Kummow Hills, is 140 coses. It is divided into eight Circars, or principal districts, namely, Shahjehanabad, (modern Delhi), Serhind, Hissar, Feiroozeh, Sehaurunpore, Sumbul, Bedaoon, Narnoul. These are again subdivided into 289 inferior districts, yielding, according to the imperial register, a revenue of seventy-four crore sixty-three lacks of Daums,† or one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

In the year of the Hijerah 1041, (A. D. 1631-32), the Emperor Shah Jehan founded the present city and palace of Shahjehanabad, which he made his capital during the remainder of his reign. The new city of Shahjehanabad lies on the western bank of the Jumna, in latitude 28.36.

* The following account of the present state of Delhi is extracted from a journal of observations made during an official tour through the Doo Ab and the adjacent districts by the author, in company with Major Reynolds, of the Bombay establishment, appointed by the Bengal Government to survey that part of the country in 1793-94.

† Persian *MS.* entitled Hudeeka ul Akauleem.

north. The city is about seven miles in circumference, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone ; a parapet runs along the whole, but there are no cannon planted on the ramparts. The city has seven gates : *viz.*, *Lahore* gate, *Delhi* gate, *Ajmere* gate, *Turkoman* gate, *Moor* gate, *Cabul* gate, *Cashmere* gate ; all of which are built of free stone, and have handsome arched entrances of stone, where the guards of the city keep watch. Near the Ajmere gate is a Mudrussa, or college, erected by Gaziooddeen Khawn, nephew of Nizamool-Mooluk ; it is built of red stone, and situated in the centre of a spacious quadrangle, with a fountain lined with stone. At the upper end of the area is a handsome mosque, built of red stone, and inlaid with white marble. This college is now uninhabited.

In the neighbourhood of the Cabul gate is a garden called Tees Huzzari Baug, in which is the tomb of the Queen Malika Zemani, wife of the Emperor Mohammad Shah ; a marble tablet placed at the head of the grave is engraved with some Persian couplets, informing us of the date of her death, which happened but five years since, A. Hijerah 1203. On a rising ground near this garden, from whence there is a fine prospect of the city, are two broken columns of brown granite, eight feet high, and two and a half in breadth, on which are inscriptions in ancient characters.

About one mile east of the city, is the tomb of the celebrated Jehanarah Begum, eldest daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan*, no less famous for her wit,

---

* Dow, *passim*.

gallantry, and beauty, than for her filial attachment in undergoing a voluntary confinement of ten years with her father in the castle of Agra.

The tomb is of fine white marble, uncovered at the top, which was formerly filled with earth and flowers. At the head of the grave is a tablet of white marble, with an inscription in black characters; the slab is decorated at its corners with cornelians of different colours.

۱۰۹۴ بجز گیاه و سبزی کسے نپوشد مزار ما
که قبر پوش غریبان همین گیاه و بس
الفقره العانیت جهان آرا بیگم بنت شاه جهان مرید خواجگان چشتی

In English thus:

"Let no one scatter over my grave aught besides "earth and verdure, for such is best befitting the "sepulchre of one of an humble mind."

On the margin:

"The perishable Fakeer, Jehanarah Begum, daughter "to Shah Jehan, and disciple of the saints of Cheesty, in "the year of the Hijerah 1094."

Within the city of new Delhi are the remains of many splendid palaces belonging to the great Omrahs of the empire. Among the largest are those of Cummer-o'deen Khan, vizir to Mohammad Shah; Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian; the Nabob Gaziooddeen Khan; Safdur Jung's; the garden* of Coodseah Begum, mother

* Of this garden and palace a most beautiful and accurate painting may be seen in Daniell's views in Hindustaun.

to Mohammad Shah ; the palace of Saadut Khan, and that of Sultaun Darah Shikoh. All these palaces are surrounded by high walls, and take up a considerable space of ground. Their entrances are through lofty arched gateways of brick and stone, at the top of which are the galleries for music ; before each is a spacious courtyard for the elephants, horses, and attendants of the visitors. Each palace has likewise a *Mahal*, or seraglio, adjoining, which is separated from the great hall by a partition wall, and communicates by means of private passages. All of them had gardens, with capacious reservoirs of stone, and fountains in the center. An ample terrace extended round the whole of each particular palace ; and within the walls were houses and apartments for servants and followers of every description, besides stabling for horses, elephants, and every thing appertaining to a nobleman's suite. Each palace is likewise provided with a handsome set of baths, and a Teh Khana underground.

The baths of Saadut Khan are a set of beautiful rooms, paved, and lined with white marble ; they consist of five distinct appartments, into which light is admitted by glazed windows at the top of the domes. Safdur Jung's Teh Khana consists of a set appartments built in a light and delicate style ; one long room, in which is a marble reservoir the whole length, and a smaller one raised and ballustraded on each side ; both faced throughout with white marble.

Shahjehanabad is adorned with many fine mosques, several of which are still in perfect beauty and repair. The following are most worthy of description :

First, the *Jama Masjid** or great cathedral. This mosque is situated about a quarter of a mile from the royal palace; the foundation of it was laid upon a rocky eminence named Jujula Pahar, and has been scarped on purpose. The ascent to it is by a flight of stone steps, thirty-five in number, through a handsome gateway of red stone. The doors of this gateway are covered throughout with plates of wrought brass, which Mr. Bernier imagined to be copper. The terrace on which the mosque is situated, is a square of about fourteen hundred yards of red stone; in the center is a fountain lined with marble, for the purpose of performing the necessary ablutions previous to prayer.

An arched colonade of red stone surrounds the whole of the terrace, which is adorned with octagon pavilions for sitting in. The mosque is of an oblong form, two hundred and sixty-one feet in length, surrounded at top by three magnificent domes of white marble intersected with black stripes, and flanked by two *Minarets* of black marble and red stone alternately, rising to the height of an hundred and thirty feet. Each of these Minarets has three projecting galleries of white marble, having their summits crowned with light octagon pavilions of the same. The whole front of the building is faced with large slabs of beautiful white marble; and along the cornice are ten compartments, four feet long and two and a half broad, which are inlaid with inscriptions in black marble in the

* Of this mosque, likewise, is to be seen a beautiful painting by the Daniells.

Nishki character, and are said to contain the greater part, if not the whole, of the *Koran.*

The inside of the mosque is paved throughout with large slabs of white marble, decorated with a black border, and is wonderfully beautiful and delicate; the slabs are about three feet in length by one and a half broad. The walls and roof are lined with plain white marble; and near the *Kibla** is a handsome *Taak*, or niche, which is adorned with a profusion of freize work. Close to this is a *Mimber*, or pulpit, or marble which has an ascent of four steps, balustered.

The ascent to the Minarets is by a winding staircase of an hundred and thirty steps of red stone; and at the top the spectator is gratified by a noble view of the king's palace, the Qutub Minar, the Hurran Minar, Humaioon's mausoleum, the palace of Firoze Shah, the fort of old Delhi, and the fort of Loni, on the opposite banks of the river Jumna.

The domes are crowned with cullises of copper richly gilt, and present a glittering appearance from afar off. This mosque was begun by the Emperor Shah Jehan in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth. The expenses of its erection amounted to ten lacs of rupees; and it is in every respect worthy of being the great cathedral of the empire of Hindostaun.

Not far from the palace is the mosque of Roshun

* *Kibla* literally implies a compass, but here means a small hollow or excavation in the walls of Mahomedan mosques, so situated on the erection of the buildings, as always to look towards the city of Mecca.

Al Dowla, rendered memorable to the Delhians for being the place where Nadir Shah beheld the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants. The cause assigned by historians for this inhuman act is, that a sedition broke out in the great market place, in which two thousand Persians were slain. Nadir, on hearing of the tumult, marched out of the fort at night with a small force to the Musjid of Roshun Al Dowla, where he was fired upon in the morning from a neighbouring terrace, and an officer killed close by his side. He instantly ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants; and his squadrons of cavalry, pouring through the streets before the afternoon, put to death an hundred thousand persons of all descriptions.

"The king of Persia," says the translator* of Firishta, sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musjid of Roshun Al Dowla: none but slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor,† attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mohammad, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shah sternly asked them what they wanted; they cried out with one voice, "Spare the city." Mohammad said not a word, but tears flowed fast from his eyes: the tyrant, for once touched with pity, sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of the prince Mohammad, I forgive."

Since this dreadful massacre, this quarter of Delhi

---

* Colonel Dow.

† Mohammad Shah.

has been but very thinly inhabited. The mosque of Roshun Al Dowlah is situated at the entrance of the *Chandney Chouk*, or market; it is of the common size, built of red stone, and surmounted by three domes, richly gilt.

Zinut ul Musajid, or the ornament of mosques, is on the banks of the Jumna, and was erected by a daughter of Aurengzeeb, of the name of Zinat ul Nissah. It is of red stone, with inlayings of marble, and has a spacious terrace in front, with a capacious reservoir faced with marble. The princess who built it, having declined entering into the marriage state, laid out a large sum of money in the above mosque, and on its completion, she built a sepulchre of white marble, surrounded by a wall of the same, in the west corner of the terrace. Here she was buried in the year of the Hijerah 1122, corresponding to the year of Chirst, 1710. There were formerly lands allotted for the support and repairs of this place, amounting to a lac of rupees per annum, but they have long since been confiscated, during the troubles this city has undergone. Exclusive of the mosques aforementioned, there are, in Shahjehanabad and its environs, above forty others; but as most of them are of inferior size and beauty, and all of them of a similar fashion, it is unnecessary to present any farther detail.

The modern city of Shahjehanabad is rebuilt, and contains many good houses, chiefly of brick; the streets are, in general, narrow, as is usual in most of the large cities in Asia; but there were formerly two very noble streets, the first leading from the palace gate, through

the city, to the Delhi gate, in a direction north and south. This street was broad and spacious, having handsome houses on each side of the way, and merchants' shops well furnished with a variety of the richest articles. Shah Jehan caused an aqueduct of red stone to be made, which conveyed the water the whole length of the street, and from thence, by a reservoir under ground, into the royal gardens.—Remains of this aqueduct are still to be seen, but it is in most parts choaked up with rubbish. The second grand street entered in the same manner, from the palace to the Lahore gate, lying east and west ; it was equal in all respects to the former; but in both of them the inhabitants have spoiled the beauty of their appearance, by running a line of houses down the center, and, in other places, across the street, so that it is with difficulty a person can discover, without narrowly inspecting, their former position.

The bazaars in Delhi are at present but indifferently furnished, and the population of late years miserably reduced. The Chandney Chouk is the best furnished in the city, though its commerce is but trifling. Cotton cloths are still manufactured and they export indigo. Their imports are by the northern caravans, which generally come once a year ; they bring with them from Cabul and Cashmere shawls, fruits, and horses: the two former articles are procurable in Delhi at a reasonable rate. There is also a manufactory at Delhi for hooka bottoms. Precious stones are also to be had in the bazaars, and the black and red cornelians of the largest and most beautiful size. The adjoining country is well

cultivated, and the neighbourhood of the city produces corn, rice, millet and indigo.

The city is divided into thirty-six mohauls or districts, each of which is named either after the particular Omrah who resided there, or from some local circumstance relative to the place.

It appears that modern Delhi has been built principally upon two rocky eminences, the one where the Jama Musjid is situated, named *Tujula Pahar*; and the other the quarter of the oil merchants, called *Bejula Pahar*: from both of these you have a commanding view of the rest of the city. With respect to the ruins of old Delhi, the extent cannot, I suppose, be less than a circumference of twenty miles, reckoning from the gardens of Shalimar, on the north-west, to the Kuttub Minar, on the south-east, and proceeding from thence along the center of the old city, by way of the mausoleum of Nizam Al Deen, the tomb of Humaioon, which adjoins, and the old fort of Delhi on the Jumna, to the Ajmere gate of Shajehanabad. The environs to the north and west are crowded with remains of spacious gardens and country houses of the nobility, which were formerly abundantly supplied with water, by means of a noble canal dug by Ali Mardan Khan, and which formerly entered from above the city of Panneeput, quite down to Delhi, where it joined the Jumna, fertilizing in its course a tract of more than ninety miles in length, and bestowing comfort and affluence on those who lived within its extent. This canal, as it ran through the suburbs of Mogul Parah, nearly three miles in length, was twenty-five feet deep, and as much in breadth,

cut from the quarry of solid stone from which most of the neighbouring houses have been likewise built. Over it, at different places, were built small bridges of stone, which communicated with the gardenhouses of the nobility.

Ancient Delhi is said, by historians, to have been erected by Rajah Delu, who reigned in Hindostaun prior to the invasion of Alexander the Great; others affirm it to have been built by Rajah Pithoura, who flourished at a much later period.—It is called in Sanscrit, *Indraput*, or the abode of *Indra*, one of the Hindu deities, and it is thus distinguished in the royal diplomas of the chancery-office. Whether the city be of the antiquity reported, it is difficult to determine, but this much is certain, that the vast quantity of buildings, both ancient and modern, which are to be found within the extent above mentioned, as well as their grandeur and style of architecture, prove it to have been a rich, flourishing, and populous city.

I will only add a short account of the royal gardens of *Shalimar*; these gardens, made by the emperor Shah Jehan, were begun in the fourth year of his reign, and finished in the thirteenth, on which occasion, according to Colonel Dow, the emperor gave a grand festival to his court. These gardens were laid out with admirable taste, and cost the enormous sum of a million sterling; their present appearance does not give cause to suppose such an immense sum has been laid out upon them, though great part of the most valuable and costly materials have been carried away. The entrance to them is through a gateway of brick, and a canal,

lined with stone, having walks on each side, paved with brick, leads up to the *Dewaun Khana*, or hall of audience, most part of which is now fallen down; from hence, by the side of a noble canal, having a fountain in the center, you proceed to the apartments of the *Harem*, which occupy a large extent of ground. In front is an *Ivaun*, or open hall, with apartments adjoining, the interior of which are decorated with a beautiful border of white and gold painting, upon a ground of the finest *chunam*.

On each side of this Ivaun, enclosed by high walls, are the apartments of the *Harem*, some of which are built of red stone, and some of brick, faced with the chunam aforementioned, and ornaments, with paintings of flowers of various kinds. All the apartments have winding passages, which communicate with each other, and the gardens adjoining, by private doors. The extent of *Shalimar* does not appear to have been very large. I suppose the gardens altogether are not above one mile in circumference: a high brick wall runs around the whole, and the extremities are flanked with octagon pavilions of red stone. The gardens still abound with trees, of a very large size, and very old. The prospect, south of Shalimar, towards Delhi, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with the remains of extensive gardens, pavilions, mosques, and burial places. The environs of this once magnificent and celebrated city, appear now nothing more than a shapeless heap of ruins, and the country round about is equally desolate and forlorn.

"The spider hath woven his web in the royal palace of the Cæsars.

"The owl standeth sentinel on the watch-towers of Afrasiab !"—Saadi.

On the 11th of March, 1794, the author accompanied Major Reynolds, who was at Delhi, on a deputation from the Bengal Government, to an audience of his majesty, Shah-Aulum.

After entering the palace, we were carried to the *Dewaun Khana*, or hall of audience for the nobility, in the middle of which was a throne, raised about a foot and a half from the ground. In the center of this elevation was placed a chair of crimson velvet, bound with gold clasps, and over the whole was thrown an embroidered covering of gold and silver thread. A handsome *shamianah*,* supported by four pillars, incrusted with silver, was placed over the chair of state. The king was at this time in the *Tusbeah Khana*, or oratory, an apartment in which he generally sits. On passing a screen of Indian *Connaughts*, we proceeded to the front of the *Tusbeah Khana*, and being arrived in the presence of the king, each of us made three obeisances in turn, by throwing down the right hand pretty low, and afterwards raising it to the forehead ; we then went up to the Musnud, on which his majesty sat, and presented our Nazzars, on white handkerchiefs, each of our names being announced at the time we offered them. The king received the whole and gave the Nazzars to his son, Mirza Akbar Shah, and two other princes, who sat on his left hand. We then

* Canopy.

retired with our faces towards the presence, made the same obeisance as before, and returned a second time to the Musnud. After a slight conversation, we were directed to go without the enclosure, and put on the Khilluts which his majesty had ordered for us. They consisted of light Indian dresses, a turbaned Jamah, and Cumberbund, made of cotton, with small gold sprigs. On being clothed in these dresses, we once more returned, and after a few minutes' stay, previous to which Major Reynolds received a sword and a title from the king, we were dismissed, and some servants were ordered to attend us, while viewing the palace.

The palace of the royal family of Timoor was erected by the Emperor Shah Jehan, at the time he built the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the river Jumna, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone; I judge the circumference of the whole to be about one mile.

The two stone figures, mentioned by Bernier, at the entrance of the palace, which represented the Rajah of Chittore, and his brother Potta, seated on two elephants of stone, are not now to be seen. They were removed by order of Aurengezeeb, as favoring too much of idolatry, and he enclosed the space on which they stood with a screen of red stone, which has disfigured the entrance to the palace.

The first object, after entering, that attracts attention, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and, though at present much

in decay, is a noble building. On each side of the *Dewaun Aum* and all round the square, are apartments of two stories in height, the walls and front of which, in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of the richest tapestry, velvets and silks, the nobles vying with each other, in rendering them the most magnificent, especially on festivals and days of public rejoicings, which presented a grand sight. These decorations have, however, long since been discontinued, and nothing but bare walls now remain.

From the *Dewaun Aum* we proceeded through another handsome gateway to the *Dewaun Khass* aforementioned. This building likewise is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, elevated upon a terrace of marble about four feet in height. The Dewaun Khass, in former times, was adorned with excessive magnificence; and though repeatedly stript and plundered by successive invaders, still retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be an hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by numerous columns of fine white marble, which have been richly ornamented with inlaid flower work of different coloured stones: the cornices and borders have been decorated with freize and sculptured work. The ceiling was formerly incrusted with a rich foliage of silver throughout its whole extent, which has long since been taken away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired; and it is a matter of bitter regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made by picking out

the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the exterior of the Dewaun Khass, in the cornice, are the following lines, written in letters of gold upon a ground of white marble :

اگر فردوس بر روے زمین است*همین است همین است همین است

"If there be a paradise upon earth, this is it—'tis this—'tis this."

The terrace of this building is composed of large slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials. The royal baths built by the Emperor Shah Jehan are situated a little to the northward of the Dewaun Khass, and consist of three very large rooms surmounted by domes of white marble. The inside of them, about two-thirds of the way up, is lined with marble, having beautiful borders of flowers, worked cornelians, and other stones executed with much taste.—The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs ; there are fountains in the center, which have passes to carry the water into the different apartments : large reservoirs of marble, four feet in depth, are placed in the walls. The light is admitted from the roof by windows of stained glass ; and capacious stoves with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. Adjoining the baths is a very fine mosque made after the fashion already described.

In the royal gardens is a very large octagon room, which faces the Jumna : it is called *Shah Burj*, or the Royal Tower, and is lined with marble. Through the window of this room, the late heir-apparent, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, made his escape in 1784, when

he fled to Lucknow. Great part of the palace has suffered by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The Rohillas, in particular, who were introduced by Gholaum Cadir Khan, have stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements.

Adjoining the palace is the fort of Selim Gurh; it communicates by a bridge of stone, built over an arm of the river: it is now entirely in ruins.*

---

* Two buildings, which are equally worthy the inspection of a traveller, have not been described in the preceding account; namely, the *Gentur Muntur*, or Observatory, built by Rajah Jey Sing; and the *Cuttub Minar*, or the famous column in the neighbourhood of the city. Of both of these, the Messrs. Daniells have brought to England most beautiful and accurate paintings, and the latter has likewise been described by Captain Blunt, of the Bengal engineers, one of the author's companions in the journey before mentioned.

Appendix II.

A Narrative of the Revolution at Rampore in 1794.

Faizoolah Khan, after the battle of Cutturah in 1774, retired with the remainder of the Rohillas to the Kummaoon Hills. The events of the campaign under Colonel Champion, and the subsequent treaty of Loll Dong in the same year, are in the hands of every one.

By that treaty, Faizoolah Khan had a territory allotted to him, which was estimated at the annual value of fourteen lacs of rupees.* He chose the city of Rampore as the place of his residence, and sedulously employed himself to the improvement of his country, and his subjects' welfare.

His virtuous efforts were crowned with deserved success; and, after an uninterrupted and prosperous administration of twenty years, during which he nearly doubled the revenues of his country, he expired in August, 1794, in full possession of the esteem and love of his subjects, and in high repute with the native princes of India for his benevolence, generosity, and good faith.

Faizoolah Khan left behind him a family of ten children; seven sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Mahomed Ali Khan, succeeded to his dominions, agreeably to the established rights of primogeniture, and was acknowledged as chief by the Rohilla tribe.

Mahomed Ali is described by his countrymen as being gross and cruel; and was, consequently,

* About 150,0001 sterling.

excessively disliked by the body of the people, who, from the characteristic of their natural spirit, require from their superiors a conciliating manner and kind treatment as the price of obedience. On the other hand, the second son (by the same mother) named Gholaum Mahomed, who, though a young man of violent and turbulent disposition, was by his tribe generally beloved. He had been the favourite of his father during the later years of his life, and had conducted under him the most important business of the state.

By his unremitted attention to the cultivation of the jaghire, he had, in a particular manner, gained the esteem of the husbandmen, who, in fact, compose the great body of the people ; and the addition of a handsome person, and an affected suavity of manners, with a plausible attention to his exterior demeanor, had riveted him in the esteem and warmest affection of the soldiers at large.

Spurred on thus by ambition, and having once tasted the intoxicating cup of pleasure, he could ill-brook a sudden descent into insignificance ; he scarcely permitted the eyes of his aged father to be closed, when he entered into a cabal with some of the leading and most turbulent of the Rohilla chiefs.

A consciousness of his own natural superiority over his brother, stimulated him to commit a barbarous crime, at which human nature revolts, and at once to rend asunder the bonds of brotherhood and loyalty.

Gholaum Mahomed having gained over to his interests the principal officers of the army, and, through

them, secured the attachment of the troops, proceeded to execute the design formed for the deposition of his brother. Seventeen days after the death of Faizoolah Khan, Gholaum Mahomed, attended by a select party well armed, entered the Durbar of Mahomed Ali. A confidential servant apprised the Nuwaub of his brother's intended visit; and at the same time cautioned him to be on his guard, as treachery was intended.

"It is impossible, my brother can entertain evil designs against me: has he not taken the sacred Koran ?" was the answer of the infatuated prince. He was too soon convinced of his error.

On entering the apartment, Gholaum Mahomed, as had been agreed upon by the conspirators, bore himself with designed haughtiness and disrespect towards his brother. This, as was foreseen and desired, inflamed Mahomed Ali, and excited the irascibility of his temper. He broke forth into the grossest abuse, and, in his ungovernable rage, was so rash as to draw his sabre.

Gholaum Mahomed now gave the signal of attack, and his brother was instantly surrounded by the whole body of conspirators, who, after a resolute and desperate resistance, cut him down. He was then confined, and sent to the house of the late Faizoolah Khan, where he was received by the women of the family, who having dressed his wounds, endeavoured to alleviate his grief and reconcile him to his fate.

The usurper was acknowledged by the army and people at Rampore with loud acclamations. Shortly after this event, it was understood by letters which arrived from Lucknow, that the enlargement of the

deposed Nuwaub, and his being permitted to reside at Lucknow, would be acceptable to the vazir.*

A council, consisting of Gholaum Mahomed and his principal leaders, was held on the occasion, and they were requested to give their respective opinions on the subject before them.

It has been affirmed, but not corroborated by any testimony that has come within our knowledge, that the usurper himself appeared inclined to a merciful determination, and would have liberated his brother. This, however, was violently opposed by some of the leaders, and particularly by Nuchoo Khan and Omar Khan, two of the most ferocious and sanguinary of the Rohilla tribe; they declared, as reason for their dislike to Mahomed Ali's enlargement, that, should he once quit the jaghire and be allowed to join the British army, there could be no doubt but all those concerned in the late revolution, together with their wives and families, would, in the event of a defeat, be exposed to the most severe resentment; even, said Omar Khan, "to their grinding of rice for the infidels."†

These arguments decided the question; and it was unanimously resolved to put the unhappy prince to death.

* It is necessary here to remark, that the above circumstance was communicated to the author by a confidential servant of the late Faizoolah Khan, who is now living at Rampore. At the same time, impartiality demands us to state, that the credibility of the circumstance rests solely on the testimony of this man, (it being denied by the people of Oude).

† Which, in Asia, is considered an office of the most menial nature.

But the carrying of this sanguinary resolve into effect was a matter of no small difficulty, and required a display of considerable art and perfidy.

Mahomed Ali, as we have seen, was within the walls of the Harem, a sanctuary which, in Hindostaun, it is considered in the highest degree dishonorable to violate or pollute. Gholaum Mahomed, therefore, proceeded in a manner equally subtle, as refinedly cruel. He sent for a person then at Rampore, by name Shah Hussun, a Syud,* and a man respected by all for his sanctity, his age, and exemplary manners. In the presence of this man, the usurper swore upon the Koran, that if his ill-fated brother would voluntarily quit his asylum, not a hair of his head should sustain injury : he concluded, by requesting of the Syud to prevail upon his brother to come forth.

Satisfied with an assurance so solemn, the holy man repaired to the palace of Faizoolah Khan ; and there having repeated what he had heard from the usurper, Mahomed Ali was persuaded to yield his assent. He accordingly quitted his asylum, and was forthwith conducted to a small fort about a mile distant from the city.

Having thus obtained possession of his brother's person, Gholaum Mahomed next deliberated on the surest mode of depriving him of his life, without himself incurring the guilt of fratricide. Omar Khan, whom we have before mentioned as the most savage of his advisers, proposed the detestable method of poisoning his victuals ; and to this, however incredible it may appear, the

* Descendant of the Prophet.

inhuman brother gave his consent. The persons who had charge of the prisoner were directed to carry this resolution into effect But information of the design having been previously communicated to Mahomed Ali, he refused to eat. For three days and as many nights did the unhappy prince remain without sustenance, and in a state of torpid insensibility. The fourth day, nature being exhausted, and roused by the calls of hunger, the Nuwaub prevailed upon the humanity of a water-carrier, who attended him, to afford him a small portion of flour : of this, which he prepared with his own hands by mixing it with water, he ate a morsel ; but his stomach, weakened by so long fasting, almost immediately on swallowing, rejected the food.

Meanwhile, the barbarian, finding his intentions frustrated, and impatient of the delay, resolved to complete his bloody purpose by the daggers of assassination. Four wretches, Munsa, Syud Khan, Toolloo, and another, were selected for the perpetration of this horrid deed.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the order was given, of this, likewise, Mahomed Ali received information, and perceiving that his fate was approaching, he sent an affectionate message to his Begum and family, and as a final effort to avert his brother's vengeance, he, for the sake of his family, acquainted the Syud, whom we have before noticed, of the ultimate resolution of his unrelenting brother.

The Syud, equally astonished as indignant, at the base conduct of the usurper, and commisserating the fate of his lawful prince, repaired to the Durbar of Gholaum Mahomed ; he there publicly charged him

with a breach of faith, and a contempt for the precepts of religion. The hypocrite, in reply, gave the most solemn assurances of the safety of Mahomed Ali, whose life, he added, "was dearer to him than his own." But the heart of this ruffian was not to be softened ; neither the recollection of their early years, nor the closer ties of fraternal affection, since arrived at manhood, could incline to pity or remorse, and to add to the guilt of assassination, he descended to the meanest and vilest subterfuge. In order that it might appear an act of suicide on the part of the miserable brother, orders were given to the assassins to contrive the murder to that effect. Accordingly, entering the chamber of the sleeping prince at midnight, they put an end to his existence by a pistol shot, and several stabs of dagger. When the deed was done, they removed the body to a small distance from where it lay, and after placing the weapon in the breast of the deceased, they departed.

Next morning intelligence of the decease of Mahomed Ali was conveyed to his brother, while sitting in the Durbar. The usurper, affecting the utmost surprise and astonishment, burst into tears, and lamented, in the most poignant terms the unhappy rashness of his brother, in committing so desperate an act. To complete the infamy of this diabolical transaction, he directed the remains of his brother to be solemnly interred, and distributed a considerable sum of money in charity, to pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

In this manner, polluted with a brother's blood, did

Gholaum Mahomed ascend the Musnud of Rampore. The necessary steps were now to be taken to secure the establishment of the usurper.

As a prelude, letters were dispatched to the vazir, in which Gholaum Mahomed endeavoured to excuse the atrocity of his conduct ; he offered, moreover, to his excellency, in alleviation of his guilt, a Nazzeranah* and Paishcush ; and with professions of the highest attachment and respect for the Nuwaub as his sovereign and lord paramount, he concluded with requesting a continuation of the jaghire in his own person.

It may here be remarked, that his valuable jaghire had only been granted for life to its late possessors, and consequently, at his demise, it reverted to the vazir, as lord paramount of Rohilcund.† It is true that some years since, it had been proposed by the vazir himself, through the mediation of the supreme government at Calcutta, to Faizoolah Khan, to change the tenure of the jaghire, which was only for life, into an *Altumgheh*, which, by the usages of Hindostaun, descends in perpetuity to successors. A consideration of fifteen lacs of rupees was then deemed a sufficient compensation. By some means or other, the offer was rejected on the part of Faizoolah Khan, and, consequently at his demise, the right of resumption of the jaghire was evident and undeniable.

* Nazzeranah, a present which is usually sent by tributary princes in Hindostaun, on their accession, to their sovereign or lord paramount.

† *Vide.*, Report of the Select Committee for India Affairs.—Major Palmer's Embassy to Rampore.

The vazir, who, from his earliest youth had been immersed in pleasure, would only gladly have seized the favourable opportunity thus afforded him, of confiscating this valuable jaghire, which would supply him with fresh means of gratifying his extravagance.

His fluctuating mind, however, unaccustomed to business, or decisive exertion, hesitated, and with the imbecility and little craft inherent to Asiatic policy, he had recourse to temporizing measures.

The views of his minister, Rajah Tickaet Roy, a man, timid, irresolute, and destitute of every qualification above that of a mere accomptant, were easily led to encourage the weakness of his master. This minister foresaw and dreaded the difficulties in which he must unavoidably be involved, should vigorous measures be pursued.

An empty treasury, a deranged system of finance, a weak government, deeply anticipated revenue, and an impoverished country, afforded but slender means for supplying, not only the necessary expenses of the war, but also provide for the parade and extravagance of his sovereign, whose childishly expensive turn he knew would not fail of displaying its pomp on this occasion. He viewed with affright the embarrassments that threatened him, and hoped, by accommodation, to escape the impending difficulties, and, at the same time, by a large mulct, to raise a temporary relief to the exigencies of the state.

The vazir and his ministers, although from different motives were united in a desire to accommodate, tempted by the magnitude of the sum* now offered,

* Twenty-two lacs of rupees.

as Nazzeranah, by Gholaum Mahomed. But, however strong the necessity of the one, or the extravagance of the other, yet neither would venture on a decisive step in an affair so important, without consulting their allies, the English, who were guarantees to the Jaghiredar by the treaty of Loll Dong.

Accordingly, the vazir communicated the circumstances of the event to the British resident at Lucknow, who conveyed the intimation to the supreme board in Calcutta ; at the same time, his excellency declared his intention to abide by the advice of that government.

It was supposed by many, that the British government would take no part in the business, and had they been desirous of avoding trouble, there existed a plausible pretext for permitting the vazir to follow his own inclinations.

It was, however, justly considered, that were the English, under the circumstances of their known and intimate connection with the vazir, to overlook this foul murder, and suffer so heinous a crime to go unpunished, it would be a conduct utterly unworthy and dishonourable, and would not fail to derogate from the national character, in the eyes of the princes of Hindostaun.

Actuated by so generous a principle, the British Government came to the determination to dispossess and punish the rebel, and in pursuance of this resolution, the two brigades which are stationed in Oude, by treaty, were ordered to take the field. Sir Robert Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief, being at that time on a tour to inspect the troops at the upper

stations of the army, was requested to undetake the expedition, and for that purpose, was invested with the most ample authority, and assisted by the co-operation of the resident at Lucknow.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign the commander-in-chief was instructed to arrange and concert measures with the vazir, for the future government of the jaghire. Sir Robert Abercrombie, accordingly, had a meeting with his highness at Dalamow, on the banks of the Ganges. He there explained to the vazir, in the fullest and most distinct manner, that the English were determined to remove the murderer, Gholaum Mahomed, for ever, from any share in the government of Rampore, and that whatever part of the jaghire it might hereafter be deemed proper to bestow on the Rohillas, it must be conferred upon the infant son of the deceased Jaghiredar.

The vazir, it is said, was not less hurt at the dictatorial strain of this communication, than dissatisfied with its tenor (so averse to his own wishes) or the wishes of his minister. They looked to immediate advantage, and eager to seize the golden prize, and both being devoid of every idea of national character, laughed to scorn the infatuation and folly of expending blood and treasure, for what, in their own singular phraseology, they deemed "A Name."

The Nuwaub, exhibiting symptoms of disaffection, was finally given to understand, that without he explicitly acquiesced in the above points, that the British Government would take no part in the business.

Immediate compliance ensued, and Sir Robert Abercrombie proceeded, with all expedition, to Cawnpore, and from that place to Futty Gurh, where he arrived, and assumed the command of the army on the 7th of October, 1794 ; the troops began to cross the Ganges at Futty Gurh, and the Cawnpore brigade having joined, the army was formed a few days after on the banks of the Gamberah river.

Meanwhile, the vazir had been collecting his army, which consisted of a numerous and undisciplined rabble of infantry, and about 2,000 horse ; and, for the sake of an ostentatious display of pomp, 200 pieces of cannon, some of them of very large dimensions, were dragged along with the multitude.

His highness quitted Lucknow on the 13th of October, and, though by easy marches, he might easily have come up with the British general and joined forces, he, on the contrary, appeared desirous to remain in the rear, and, notwithstanding the pressing and urgent solicitations of the English resident, and General Martin, who attended his camp, he could not be persuaded to advance. .

Being solicited to send on, at least, a body of cavalry, he declined the proposal, and it was not until the day after the action, that any of the vazir's army joined the British. Our narration must now lead us to the situation of the English army, in which nothing material occurred until the 24th instant, when it encamped on the banks of the Sunkrah, a small river, about five miles in advance of Bareilly, upon the high road to Rampore.

In the evening of that day an officer was ordered out with a party of troopers to patrol three or four miles in front, and report any occurrence to the general. That officer reported that 1,500 of the enemy's horse were advanced as far as Millik, a village about fifteen miles from the British encampment, and that some horsemen, about noon, had been seen examining the passage of the Doo Torah, a small river in front, and within the vazir's territories.

On the 25th, the English preserved the same position, their front, to the Rampore road, and the Sunkra river, covering their rear, and, by a winding direction. protecting also the right flank, so that it could only be attacked, either on the left or in front, and in either case to the disadvantage of the opponents.

About two o'clock, P. M. of this day, the commander-in-chief was astonished at the intelligence that the Rohillas, in full force, were crossing the Doo Jorah, accompanied by the cavalry of the line. The general advanced to a small eminence in front, to observe the motions of the enemy. A message from Gholaum Mahomed was, at this time, brought with a letter to the general, which Sir Robert would not receive, but desired the messenger might be directed to return, and acquaint his master, that the British Commander would hold no communication with him, until he retired within the Rampore boundary, and totally evacuated the territories of the vazir, the invasion of which was highly improper, and added much to the atrocity of his crime That the Rohillas would be allowed until the evening of the next day to withdraw their troops,

which, if they did not, the English would consider and treat them as enemies.

To this no answer was returned, but on the 26th of October, the enemy appeared in a menacing and hostile manner, spreading over the plain in irregular and confused, though numerous, columns.

The general who had been to reconnoitre, returned to camp, and left one of his *aide-de-camp* to give timely notice of the enemy's motions. The enemy continuing to advance, and form, in an irregular manner, the British troops were immediately ordered to prepare for action.

The first brigade, consisting of the 13th native battalion, the 2nd European regiment, and the 18th native, with the two regiments of cavalry, formed the reserve, and composed the right wing of the army. The 3rd brigade, consisting of four native battalions, formed the left wing, and the 2nd brigade, of equal strength, composed the center. To each battalion in the line were attached two guns, and the grand park of artillery was posted, in the interval, between the center division and the left wing. From an eminence in front, which the enemy were unaccountably· permitted to occupy, they soon commenced an harmless cannonade; their guns being greatly elevated the shot passed over the British line. About ten A. M. the line being regularly formed, two guns, the signal to advance, were fired in the center. The English troops began to advance, and continued to press forward with great ardour, until they met the enemy, who came on with unexampled resolution and determined ferocity, upon the points of

their bayonets, sword in hand. The British artillery and musketry did great execution ; but could not entirely check the first onset. The most desperate effort of the Rohillas was made on the right of the reserve, where Colonel Burrington commanded, and fell. The cavalry, who were on the right flank, commanded, by Captain Ramsay, when the enemy had advanced to about eighty paces, suddenly wheeled to the left, by order of their commanding officer, who led them into the rear of the reserve. The suddenness of this unexpected and disgraceful movement, and the charge which the enemy were thereby inspired to make on the rear, threw the cavalry into confusion, and left the gallant 13th battalion entirely exposed : this the enemy perceiving, threw themselves with the utmost violence upon the flank of that corps, and many of them having turned its rear, the whole right wing of the battalion were cut to pieces. Captain Macleod, the commandant, a gallant and experienced officer, together with four of his subalterns, fell ; this corps pressed upon the European regiment, which being also briskly attacked, were thrown into a like confusion. The Europeans, in turn, crowded upon the 18th battalion, and, notwithstanding the steadiness and exertion of that corps, animated by the presence of their gallant leader, Major Bolton, much destruction was committed in a few minutes. The body of the enemy that made this impression on the reserve, had suffered much themselves, but in the tumult, had passed through the intervals occasioned by the disorder, and were in the rear of the European regiment, when a part

of the cavalry, which had, by the greatest exertions of the subaltern officers, been rallied, returned back to the attack, and prevented further mischief. The other divisions of the line having maintained an undaunted face throughout the whole of the battle, resistance on the part of the Rohillas, at length, entirely ceased, and after a close action of an hour and forty minutes, scarce a man of the enemy was to be seen.

The British line halted a few minutes on the field of battle to let the troops breathe, after which, they pursued the enemy to the Doo Jorah river, on the opposite banks of which their camp was still standing ; this was plundered by the vazir's horsemen, who, according to custom, had come up after the action, and whilst the English line was halted, to mark out their encampment, these banditti reaped the reward due to the valour of their allies.

The Rohilla force, from the most authentic accounts, consisted of 30.000 infantry, and about 4,000 horse ; they had nearly 2,000 men killed, and as many wounded ; whilst the British had to regret a dear-bought victory, in the loss of 600 men and fourteen officers.* men of

* Names of the officers killed in the action of the 26th October, 1794.—*Infantry* ; Colonel Burrington, Major Bolton, Captain Macleod, Captain Mawbey. *Lieutenants* : W. Odell, W. Hinksman, John Plumer, Jeseph Richardson, T. Cummings, Z. Birch. *Wounded* : Major R. Bruce, T. Edwards. *Lieutenants* : R. Adams, Lewis Thomas, T. Robertson, J. P. Pigot, cavalry. *Artillery* : *Killed* ; Captain Mordaunt. *Lieutenants* : E. Baker, J. Tilfer. *Wounded* : (since dead) Captain Wells, brigade major. It may be interesting to the friends of these gallant officers, to learn that the British Government have directed a monument to be erected over their remains, on the spot where they fell.

tried reputation in their profession, and who had fought under the banners of Coote and Cornwallis.

On the 27th, the army halted to inter the dead, and take care of the wounded, who were sent back to Bareilly the same day, where an hospital was formed for their reception. On the 29th, the army reached and took possession of the city of Rampore, the capital of the Rahilla jaghire, and excepting the widow and family of Mahomed Ali, scarce a Rohilla remained in the place; the whole having evacuated the town the day succeeding the battle.

The British general then deemed it eligible to give up the town to the management of the vazir, whose people accordingly took possesssion.

Intelligence of the retreat of the Rohillas into the Almora hills, which extend along the eastern boundary of Rohilcund, having been recieved, the British army advanced by easy marches, and on the 5th of November, encamped at the village of Pouttah, at the foot of the before-mentioned hills. The same day, Syud Khan, a confidential person, was dispatched by Gholaum Mahomed into the English camp, with proposals on the part of his master, that he (Gholaum Mahomed) would deliver himself up to the English, with the provision of personal safety to himself, and an assurance from the British general, that the honour of his family should be preserved inviolate. The English commander readily acquiesced in the proposal, and about one o'clock next day, the Rohilla chief was met at a short distance from the British camp, by the resident at Lucknow, and by him conducted to the general's tent. He was

accompanied by his younger brother, a youth of 17 years of age, and two of his sirdars, Syud Khan and Omar Khan, the latter of whom was an old soldier, who had shared the fortunes of the late Faizoolah Khan, at Loll Dong, and served him from that period until his death.

Gholaum Mahomed having thus surrendered his person, it was reasonably supposed that matters would speedily be brought to a conclusion ; it soon, however, appeared, that that chief had, by the natural craft and corrupt turn of his own disposition, been led to hope that bribes, and the all-powerful influence of gold, would still secure him possession of the jaghire. The treasures of his late father, amounting to an immense sum, which had been amassed by a series of the most prudent industry and rigid economy, were in his hands, and, though regardless of either honour or honesty, he had observation sufficient to hope that his treasures would not only gild his crimes, but mollify his enemies, and prove persuasive advocates in his favour ; in this, however, he failed ; and though he positively offered the immense sum of a lac of gold mohurs to the resident, another to the general, and a third to the company, if he could be returned in the Neabat or deputyship of the jaghire, he was given to understand by Mr. Cherry, that he must for ever abandon every hope of that nature, and that neither the jaghire, nor even permission to reside within its precincts, would ever be granted him. After this ineffectual struggle, some days passed without any thing being determined, and Gholaum Mahomed either affected, or really not possessing any influence over his obstinate countrymen, still kept aloof from

decision, which the general perceiving, and that by patience and forbearance matters were only more procrastinated, it was determined to consider the Rohilla chief entirely out of the question, and the plan of a separate negotiation with the chiefs in the Rohilla camp was adopted. A general pardon was offered to those misguided men and their adherents, on their submission to the vazir. Their troops had permission to depart to their respective homes, and a jaghire of ten lacs of rupees, excluding the town of Rampore, was offered to Ahmad Ali Khan, the infant son of the murdered Nuwaub; these, terms, however reasonable and consonant to the liberal policy which actuated Sir Robert Abercrombie throughout the whole of these transactions, were, nevertheless, rejected, and many evasions and extravagant demands were made on the part of the enemy.

On the 12th of November, however, Gholaum Mahomed, apprehensive that the other chiefs would now make terms for themselves, or probably (as appeared justified by the conclusion) actuated by more deceptious motives, agreed to send letters to the Rohilla camp, with positive orders to his sirdars to send out his family and treasures. Syud Khan was intrusted with the mission, and he being detained by the Rohillas, and no answer returned, Omar Khan, with pretended anxiety to effect an accommodation, proposed to visit the camp, and doubted not of his prevailing over his countrymen to accede to terms.

To this Sir Robert Abercrombie, actuated by the humane desire of terminating the war without a farther

effusion of blood, yielded his assent : Omar Khan went, but never returned.

It was now discovered, from various channels, that Gholaum Mahomed himself, notwithstanding his professions of obedience, was the sole cause of the obstinate delay of his countrymen, with whom he had kept up a secret correspondence, and urged the chiefs, who were his creatures, not to accept of any terms in which his restoration to the jaghire was not a primary article; and he assured them, that being resolute and unanimous in this point, they would insure success.

It was, therefore, determined to bring matters, at once, to an issue. In the evening of the 3rd of December, an insolent and contemptuous letter arrived in the English camp; in that letter, after repeating a series of extravagant demands, they concluded with these remarkable words, "If after this representation, our requests be denied, it will be conspicuous throughout the empire of Hindostaun, that in the days of Asuf Al Dowlah, assisted by the English Company, the Rohilla nation was extirpated."

The drift of this letter was easily seen through, and at 12 o'clock on the same night, Gholaum Mahomed was sent off under charge of a regiment of cavalry, who were ordered to escort him to Thakoor Duwarah, a place about twenty miles distance from the camp; be was then delivered over to Colonel Baillie, of the Ist native battalion, who had been advanced to receive him, should this measure be deemed necessary; that officer carried him on twenty miles farther, so that by ten o'clock next day he was forty miles distant from his

friends. The next morning, after sending in a proclamation to the Rohillas, which was declared to be final, offering pardon, if they would submit, and notifying the vazir's intention to bestow a jaghire upon the infant son of the deceased Nuwaub; but in the event of farther resistance, they must expect to meet with exemplary punishment.

The British army then moved down to within a mile of the Rohilla intrenchments, and the outposts of both armies exchanged a few shots, but without any mischief to either party.

The good effects of this proclamation were soon apparent; convinced that by the departure of their chief, all hope of his restoration was at an end, and that the English were determined to act with vigour, the Rohillas, at length, began to treat with sincerity. A cessation of arms took place on the 5th; but there being such a variety of clashing interests to reconcile and to settle, and arrange the selection of the new jaghire, it was not until the 7th instant the preliminary articles were signed.* On the 9th, the treasures of the

* Translation of the preliminary engagement between the Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Jah Asuf Ul Dowla Yehieh Khan Buhadur Huzuber Jung, the English Company and the Rohilla tribe.

Article I. When this preliminary engagement shall be executed, hostilities shall cease between the Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Jah Buhadur and his allies, and the Rohilla army.

Art. II. The Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Jah Buhadur agrees that he has pardoned the family of the Nuwaub Faizoolah Khan, deceased, and their adherents, the faults which they have committed.

late Faizoolah Khan, amounting to three lacs and 80,000 gold mohurs, were delivered up to the British general; and on the following day, the armies commenced their march on their return. When the

Art. III. The Rohilla army agree that they will give over in deposit, to the Company, whatever may remain of the treasure of Faizoolah Khan, deceased.—That Gholaum Mahomed Khan has delivered an account of the treasure which was left by the Nuwaub Faizoolah Khan at his death, to the period that he had charge of it. From that treasure the sum of 14,000 gold mohurs has been expended since Gholaum Mahomed Khan left the Rohilla camp, this being deducted, the balance is the sum demanded.

Art. IV. The Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Jah Buhadur agrees, that he will bestow on Ahmed Ally Khan, the grandson of the Nuwaub Faizoolah Khan, deceased, mohals in jaghire at the annual Jumma of ten lacs of rupees, and that the town of Rampore shall be a part of the said jaghire; and as Ahmed Ally Khan is a minor, therefore, Nasir Ali Khan Buhadur, son of Abdoola Khan, deceased, shall be nominated the guardian of Ahmed Ally Khan, and the manager of the said jaghire, until Ahomed Ally Khan shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years.

Art. V. When the Rohilla army shall have given over the treasure, as is expressed in the third article, the armies of the Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Jah Buhadur, and of the English Company, shall march from hence, and the Rohilla army shall disperse, and go wherever they think proper. Done at Putta Ghaut, in the English camp, this 5th Jemmaudi Ul Owul, 1209 Hijerah, December 7, 1794.

The seal of the Nuwaub Vazir Ul Mumalick Asuf Ul Dowla Asuf Jah Yehieh Khan Buhadur Huzuber Jung.
(LS)

The seal of Mr. Geo. Frederick Cherry, on the part of the English Company, as guarantee to the above articles.
(LS)

The seal of Nasir Ali Khan.
(LS)

army arrived at Bereilly, it was announced, in orders, that his highness, the Vazir, intended to present the troops with a donation of eleven lacs of rupees, part of the treasure which had been sent into the English camp, and was delivered over to the Vazir; this was immediately done, by paying it into the hands of the resident at Lucknow, and the remainder the Vazir carried to Lucknow.

Thus terminated a revolution, which, though at the fist appearance exhibited but a slight speck in the political horizon of Hindostaun, had, nevertheless by a variety of circumstances and incidental causes during its progress, threatened to prove fatal to the interests of Great Britain, or, at least, of giving a severe check to their authority. To hazard conjecture on an object of so great importance, may surely be deemed excuseable, and if it should serve to stimulate exertion, and animate the conduct of a wise and well-ordered government, to the preservation and permanency of the valuable possessions of Great Britain in the east, the observation will not have been made in vain. Of the present jaghire, as settled by the late treaty, it yet remains to speak; it is situated in the finest part of Rohilcund, and the jaghire is bounded on the north by the town of Akberabad, on the south by Millik, on the east by Rooderpore, at the foot of the Almora hills, and on the west by the village of Safeny; it is in length about seventy miles, and thirty-six in breadth; the circumference of the jaghire is 291 miles, and contains about 500 populous villages; the soil, in common with the rest of Rohilcund, is a black rich loam, interspersed

in some places with red earth ; the most fruitful parts are the center and south-west boundary. The face of the country throughout presents a delightful view of large groves of mango trees, agreeably diversified with gentle declivities and ascents alternately. This valuable jaghire is watered by several rivers, besides smaller streams, which contribute to fertilize and embellish it. Among the principal are the Ramganga and Cossillah, which have been described in the formor part of this work.

The jaghire, though so highly favoured by nature, has, nevertheless, been much assisted by the industrious spirit of its inhabitants, aided by the wise and benevolent institutions of the late Faizoolah Khan.

Throughout his whole territory, that prince caused aqueducts to be made, which traverse the corn fields in all directions ; they are sufficiently broad and deep. In the eastern confines, near the Almora hills, the inhabitants avail themselves of the numerous streams which flow from the mountains, by making artificial dams ; and, at the proper seasons, inundate their lands, which is of particular benefit to the early crops. All these advantages give the country the appearance of a highly cultivated garden.

Sugarcane, rice, and tobacco, are produced in the greatest abundance, and of the best quality ; the canes are from eight to ten feet high, and the crops of wheat, barley, and various kinds of grain, are nothing inferior to the most cultivated parts of Hindostaun ; the principal manufacture of this jaghire is coarse cotton cloth, which is exported across the Ganges into the Doo Ab.

and other parts of the Vazir's dominions, as are likewise great quantities of grain, sugar, and tobacco.

Rampore, which is the capital both of the former and present jaghire, is a large town situated on the western bank of the Cosilla river ; it is about four miles in circumference, and surrounded by a thick hedge of bamboo, within which are mud fortifications, totally incapable of resistance. The town is large, but the streets, as common throughout Asia, are narrow. There is, however, a very good bazar, and likewise a mosque, both of them the work of Faizoolah Khan ; during the life-time of that chief, Rampore was supposed to contain 100,000 inhabitants ; but since the late revolution, great numbers of Rohillas, in consequence of the reduced establishment, have quitted the place, and retired with their families in quest of a maintenance.

The present jaghire is properly divided into two parts —Rampore, called also Mustafabad, and Shah-Abad. The late treaty fixed the valuation of the revenues at 10 lacks and 70,000 rupees per annum : but the above estimate was made from a comparative statement of the Jumma, or general collection of twenty-two lacks. There is reason to suppose that the part now occupied by the Rohillas, is capable of yielding a much larger sum ; and if the industrious spirit of its inhabitants obtains permanency, it will continue to increase in value annually*.

*During a survey which was made by Captain James Mouatt, of the Bengal engineers, by order of government, in the years 1795-96, to ascertain the boundaries of the jaghire, the author, who accompanied that gentleman, had an opportunity of a per-

As a conclusive remark, it may be observed, that in whatever direction we traverse the dominions of the late Faizoolah Khan, the same industry and attention to cultivation is exhibited ; and every generous mind will doubtless join in a cordial wish, that no ambitious or ferocious chief will again disturb its internal peace and tranquillity.

---

sonal inspection of every part of it, and from his inquiries and conversations with many intelligent natives, he has been enabled to present the above documents.

Appendix III

نامه جناب معلی رکاب حضرت صاحب عالم مرزا جهاندار شاه بهادر برائے گیتی ارائے ممالک فرنگ

یامن هو وحده اول المصاعد الحلة الجلية الحسام و الافتتاح به من اثار دولة السلطنة السلطانية العظيمة العظام انوار قدرتک من مطالع الله هس و الافاق طوالع و اشدار قدرتک من المسک الی السماک و لوامع استالک ان تصلی علی محمد یشک و رسولک الکریم و آله و اصحابه العظیم الذین هم اساس الصراط المستقیم اما بعد برائے عالم ارائے جهانبان فریدون فر داور دادگر بادشاه عادل معدلت گستر ملک بازل آفتاب نظر سپهر حشم مهر خدم درست نواز دشمن گداز راست بین کج براندازسکندر بارگاه جمشید کلاه کیخسرو پناه خورشید نگاه کیوان ایوان برجیس نشان علوی مکان خدیو کامگار خسرو نامدار نوشیروان زنجیردار سپهر اقتدار مه خدمتگار صاحب دانش و فرهنگ زبدهٔ اکلیل و اورنگ بادشاه ممالک فرنگ دارا شکوه راست پژوه آسمان کریاس نیک اساس حق شناس مالک طوق و تاج ستانندهٔ باج و خراج کهف السلاطین ملجاے الخواقین لایح و ساطع باد که این نیازمند سابق ازین بر سبیل تفصیل مشروحاً بدرگاه گیتی پناه احوال اختلال ممالک وسعت آباد هندوستان مینو مکان و اختلاف ارائے اراکین دولت و امرائے عظام زشت خوے مفسدان

کوته اندیش و شورش نمایان بدکیش و ورود پیش عماد الدوله
مستر حشتن بهادر براے استمداد موافق ارشاد آفتاب نهاد حضرت
خاقان جهان خدیو زمین آسمان خیم و گیهان خداوند کشورستان
داراب دربان ملک پاسبان شبان سریر فلک سریر جمجاه سلاطین پناه
ظل الله مروج احکام خراج مهر سپهر عظمت و عروج طوع علم و
طبل انعام رحمت حق برکاته انام آیهٔ قدرت کبرا الهی بر روے زمین
و آسمان آگاهی مسند آراے دین و داد و سادهٔ اوامر و قوانین ملک
و ملت بادشاه انجم سپاه سلطان حق آگاه شمع شبستان صاحب قرانی
مصباح زجاجهٔ دودمان کورگانی شاه فلک قدر کواکب سپاه کزعاش
مچه بود مهر و ماه قطب کهم رکن شهریاران خود اقطاب زمین و زمان
اظهار ساخته مدت چهار سال که باین عزیمت پیش صاحبان انگریز و
برادر عزیز نواب وزیر متوقف مانده مترصد از جناب آن کشور کشاے
گیتی اراے باندوز حشمت و ایالت مرتبت شوکت و امارت منزلت
رفعت و وزارت درجت طلب استمداد از ندماے کمپنی انگریز بهادر
میذمود و درین اشاره وفور فتور و فساد از اطراف و اکناف و ورود
مرهته و سیندهیا پتیل که رئیس رؤس الاشرار بود در حضور ساطع
النور باعث مزید شورش شوربختان فتنه پرداز و بغاه کوته بین باهین
نوین تازه‌تر شد و هرچند از درگاه خلایق پناه با سردار مذکور بنصایح
هوش افزا و کلمات دولت پیرا ارشاد قدسی بنیاد براے تالیف
قلوب کافه برایا و حفاظت عامهٔ رعایا که ودایع بدایع ایزدی اند و
آبادی ممالک محروسه پیوست آن باطل کیش ناعاقبت اندیش
اندوز کمپانی ماند خسروانی آویزه گوش باطل نیوش نکرده با هرکس

طرح مخاصمت افگندن حتی که با راجها که از قدیم اساطین و اراکین دولت عظمی بودند سیما سرامد نوئینا عظام و قدره فدویان عقاب فرجام سری مهاراج ادهراج راجی نگر سوائی پرتاب سنگهه بهادر که نسبت و کلاء بضدویخاص لایف للکرمت و لا اختصاص راسخ البرهان عمده اراکین عظام مهاراجه بجے سنگهه دارد ز از قدیم الایام قرابت گونه وصلت باین خاندان عالیشان از اسلاف خواقین عالیمقدار و شاهان ذوی الاقتدار دارند طرح پیچش بیجا افگنده مصدر بغی و طغیان گشت بالاخره است با خورده از اوج عظمت و مختاری حضور ساطع النور که بوکالت مطلق سر افراز شده بود به حضیض هزیمت و گرداب مذلت جایض خاکستر گشت ازو مر این انقلاب تازه سر کشی باغیان زیاده از اندازه گشت یکطرف هنگامه افاغنه ملاعنه نمکحرام پسر ضابته خان بد فرجام غلام قادر بیدادگر که پدرش علی الدوام از اختلاف ذمیمه ذاتی شورش فطری در سر بیمغز داشت و یکطرف دیگر مفسدان باطل پژوه انقاد نیران خرابی آنقدر زبانه کشیده که تا بپایهٔ تخت هندوستان جنت مکان رسیده و جناب کیوان آنحضرت ظل سبحانی بنفس نفیس متوجه اطفاے این آتش سوزان اند و شقیجات خاص کرامت اختصاص علی التواتر و توالی براے این نیازمند درگاه الهی و ز برادر عزیز نواب وزیر و صاحبان انگریز و حشمت گورنر بهادر متضمن طلب حضور بصاحبین دل نشین که زهره سنگ از آن آب شود بتاکید اکید تمام عز ایراد یافتند هرچند حشمت و مرتبت گورنر بهادر به ابرام لا کلام ابلاغ و ارشادات قدسی نموده شد گورنر بهادر بسبب مجبوری از طرف آن ولایت شاه علوی مکان حکم پیش قدمی

نسبت مجبور بودند لیکن برادر عزیز نواب وزیر هم اقدام برین امر نمودند و امتثال حکم گیتی مطاع آفتاب شعاع که طرز لوازم افزا است بے حکم آن علوی مکان سجا این نیازمند لا جرم کمر همت بطریق عزیمت مستحکم بسته و نظر بد امداد غیبی و تائیدات لا ریبی و توفیقات یزدانی و تائیدات آسمانی بدده درین طوفان طلاطم خیز و عمان بلا انگیز رخش جرات بمیدان عزیمت متوکلا علی الله افگنده مضمار قطب السیف از میامن اقبال بے زوال شاهنشاهی می ربایم و عازم آن ناحیه با وصف قلت اعوان و انصار هستم اگر درین وقت آن اورنگ آراے جهان و کشور کشاے دوران حکم محکم به گورنر بهادر در بارهٔ نصرت اولیاے دولت ابد مدت و رفتن حضور پرنور و امداد و تپه کوته بینان کند بعید از این فتوت و مردمی و مروت نخواهد بود حقا که پیوسته علی الدوام از طائفهٔ علیه شاهان سپهر اقتدار و خواقین گردون مدار این حرکات که باعث رفاه کافه عباد و امن و امان بلاد و نیکو نامی درین روزگار بے مدار باشد بمنصهٔ شهود پیوسته خصوصاً حمیت اخوت وفور مرحمت جنسیت بنوعے که حضرت خود بدولت آن خلافت پناه را بجاے برادر مشفق شد و این نیازمند آن سلطنت دستگاه علوی مکان را پیش خود قرار داده براے این امر گواه عادل و اجل ولایت است آفتاب عظمت و اجلال از اوج گردون عزت و اقبال لامع باد ـ

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE PRINCE MIRZA JUWAUN BUKHT JEHAUNDAR SHAH, ELDEST SON OF SHAH-AULUM, TO HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, MENTIONED IN PAGE 157.

EXORDIUM*—INVOCATON TO THE DEITY

"O Thou whose praise is the first object of the light and splendour of dignified nature, with the celebration of which the thoughts and actions of the most exalted monarchs ought ever to commence; the dazzling brightness of whose purity emanates like the sun over the face of the whole creation, and the mysterious power of whose mighty arm is universally displayed from the lowest earth to the highest heavens. Counsel and assist in thy mercy, thy chosen prophet, Mahomed, whom thou hast appointed the messenger of thy truth to the children of men, and strengthen and confirm his righteous descendants and followers and companions, who are the foundation of the right way!

"To the most illustrious prince, adorning the universe, in dignity like *Feridoon*,† the monarch distributing justice over the world, cherisher of friends and dreadful avenger of enemies, whose throne is resplendent as that of Alexander, and magnificent as *Jamshid*,§ of aspect brilliant as the sun, and of auspicious fortune, the most

---

* All the letters from princes and great men througout Asia are introduced with a similar exordium. For the Insha or formula, the reader may consult the Ayeen Akbary of Mr. Gladwin, or Dr. Balfour's ingenious translation of the Insha Hurkerun.

† A king of Persia famous for his justice.

§ A king of Persia who is related to have built the palace of Persepolis.

exalted King of England, great as *Darius**, wise, magnanimous, lord of royal insignia, who collects tribute from mighty kingdoms, *be it known and understood*; Prior to this address, your suppliant has in the most explicit manner represented to the throne, the asylum of the universe, that the disturbances which have arisen within the empire of Hindostaun, the dissensions among the nobility and Omrahs of high renown, the rebellious designs of the wicked, plots, treasons and conspiracies of disobedient subjects, have been related to you by order of the imperial presence, our renowned sovereign and venerable parent, (the Khakan† of the world, the bright taper of devotion of the great lord of the conjunction (Sahib Kiraun††), and resplendent torch of the family of (Goorgaun§) to the Nuwaub of exalted dignity, Mr. Hastings, Bahadur, Governor-General, that he might come to the aid and assistance of the royal family.

"In the expectation for a period of four years, we the prince, have resided with our friends the English, and our brother, dear as life, the Vazir of the empire, and during that period we have not failed to solicit from the counsellors of the East-India Company the restora-

* Darius, the son of Hystaspes or Kisht-Asp.

† Khakan, a Scythian or Mogal title, according to historians first adopted by the great Timoor on his conquest of Tartary, and subsequently assumed by all his posterity who sat on the throne of Hindostaun.

†† Sahib Kiraun. From an auspicious combination of the planets at the time of his nativity, or according to others, on his accession to the regal dignity.

§ Goorgaun—the family from whom Timoor was descended.

tion of our imperial authority, and the re-establishment of our paternal dominions.

"During this interval, from the relaxed state of the government and, in consequence of the arrival of the deceitful Marhattas, and of *Sindiah* (who is chief of the seditious) those disturbances and rebellions increasing in tenfold proportion have augmented the distress of our august parent; and notwithstanding the wholesome advice and salutary council given from the throne to the aforesaid chief to conciliate the attachment of the ancient nobility and extend protection to the distressed peasantry (a conduct which, under divine favour, gives security and permanency to empire) that ungrateful chief, regardless of the royal will, has established himself in continued and unvaried opposition, until having by his improper conduct exasperated the Rajahs and princes of our empire, and particularly the most illustrious prince of Jynaghur, the pillar of fidelity, Maharajah Pertaub Singh, as likewise the ruler of Joudpore, both of whom are allied by blood to the royal family. Those warlike chiefs, uniting to punish the source of oppression, gave him battle, and defeated him, so that, deprived of his office of Ameer Al Omrah, or chief of nobles, he fell at once from the summit of imperial favour, and was precipitated into the abyss of annihilation and contempt.

"Amidst these vicissitudes of fortune, the machinations of the rebellious increased to an extent almost immeasurable.

"On one side, Gholaum Cadir Khan (son of the detested Afghaun Zabita Khan whose whole life was

employed in conspiring against the safety of the state) has erected the standard of rebellion. His example encouraging others, the disturbances became so formidable as to penetrate even to the threshold of the imperial place, so that our august parent was necessitated to adopt the most strenuous efforts to extinguish this destructive fire.

"For this purpose, he dispatched repeated and urgent commands to this your suppliant, as likewise to the Governor-General of high dignity (Earl Cornwallis) as to our dear brother, the vazir of the empire, to come to the assistance of the imperial court.

"But it apearing that on the arrival of the imperial demand, neither the Governor-General nor the vazir of the empire had received your Majesty's commands to that effect, they were of consequence constrained to withhold the assistance required.

"We, therefore, girding the loins of circumspection with the belt of resolution, and casting our eyes towards future events, and the mercies of divine providence in this stormy ocean of our distress, rely on your Majesty for the restoration of our authority; and if your Majesty, who adorns the throne of the universe, will graciously condescend to issue your high commands to the Governor-General to effect the restoration of the royal authority in these kingdoms, punish our of rebellious subjects, and re-establish the august house of Timoor, such conduct will be perfectly consistent with the dictates of generosity and the usages of sovereign princes; and, finally, the result of this kind interposition by establishing the repose of the

people of God, and affording peace and plenty to a distracted empire, will render your Majesty's name renowned among the princes of the earth.

"As our honoured parent, his imperial Majesty, bound by every tie of gratitude, regards your Majesty as a brother dearer than life, so this your suppliant hopes to be honoured by the endearing appellation of your nephew.

"For the rest, may the sun of your Majesty's grandeur and prosperity be perpetually resplendent in the sphere of glory and auspicious fortune."

The above letter was written at the commencement of the year 1787, previous to the prince's departure from Lucknow to Delhi the last time; though the author has not been able to learn from the most diligent inquiry whether it was ever sent to England, but as the subject matter of it contains a faithful picture of the wretched state of the royal family at that period, he has deemed it worthy of insertion.

Appendix IV

ELEGY WRITTEN BY SHAH-AULUM AFTER THE LOSS OF HIS SIGHT.

صرصر حادثه برخاست پئے خواري ما * داد برباد سر و برگ جهانداري ما
آفتاب فلك رفعت شاهي بودم * برد در شام زوال آه سيه كاري ما
چشم ما كندة عبد از جور فلك بهتر شد * كه نه بينم كه كند غير جهانداري ما
داد افغان بچهٔ شوكت شاهي برباد * كيست جز ذات خداے نه كند ياري ما
كردة بوديم گناهے كه سزايش اين بود * هست اُميد كه بخشند گنهگاري ما
كرد سي سال نظارت كه مرا داد بباد * زود تر يافت تلافي ستمگاري ما
نازنينان پري چهرة كه همدم بودند * نيست جز مهط مبارك به پرستاري ما
حق طفلان كه ز سي سال فراهم كردند * كردة تاراج نمودند سبكساري ما
عهد و پيمان بميان دادة نمودند دغا * مغليان خوب نمودند وفاداري ما
شير داديم به افعي بچه و پروردیم * عاقبت گشت مجوز پئے خونخواري ما
قوم افغان و مغليه همة بازي دادند * بسكه گشتند مجوز به گرفتاري ما
آن گدا زادهٔ همدان كه بدوزخ برود * باني جور ز ستم شد بدل افگاري ما
گل محمد كه ز مروان بشرارت كم نيست * چه قدر كرد وكالت به گرفتاري ما
هم اله‌يار و سليمان و بدل بيگ لعين * هرسه بستند كمر بهر دل‌آزاري ما
شاه تيمور كه دارد سر نسبت بامن * زود باشد كه بيايد بمددگاري ما
مادهوجي سيندهيه فرزند جگربند من * هست مصروف تلافي ستمگاري ما
راجه و راو و زميندار امير و چه فقير * حيف باشد كه نسازند بغمخواري ما
حال ما گشته بتر همچو اماماں ز يزيد * كرد تقدير ازل روزي ما خواري ما
بود جانكاه زر و مال جهان همچو مرض * دفع از فضل الهي شدة بيماري ما
آصف‌الدوله و انگريز كه دلسوز من اند * ! چه عجب گر بنمايند مددگاري ما
آفتاب از فلك امروز تباهي ديدي * باز فردا دهد ايزد سر و سرداري ما

FREE TRANSLATION, IN VERSE, OF THE ABOVE ELEGY.

*Where with bright pomp the stately domes arise,
In yon dark tower an aged monarch lies,
Forlorn, dejected, blind, replete with woes,
In tears his venerable aspect shews ;
As through the lonely courts I bent my way,
Sounds struck my ear, which said, or seem'd to say,
"Lo, the dire tempest gathering from afar,
In dreadful clouds has dimm'd the imperial star ;
Has to the winds, and broad expanse of heaven,
My state, my royalty, and kingdom given ;
Time was, O King, when clothed in power supreme,
Thy voice was heard, and nations hail'd the theme ;
Now sad reverse, for sordid lust of gold,
By traitorous wiles, thy throne and empire sold.
See you fierce Afgan† with intemperate haste,
Gleams like a meteor through the palace waste,
Frowning, terrific, threatens with a grave
Thy progeny, O Timoor, good and brave ;
Yet, not the treatment from th' inhuman foe,
Not all my kingly state in dust laid low,
Can to this breast such torturing pain impart,
As does, O Nazir,§ thy detested art ;
But tho' too late, the day of reckoning come,
The tyrant whom thou serv'dst has seal'd thy doom,

* I have thought the first six lines, which are merely introductory, and cannot be accounted any part of the original, to be better calculated to give satisfaction to the reader, than an abrupt commencement of the elegy, as in the king's own words.

† Gholaum Cadir Khan.

§ Mansur Ali Khan, Superintendent of the household.

Has hurled thee, rebel, headlong from the height,
Of power abused, and done thy sovereign right :
Chaste partners of my bed, and joys serene,
Once my delight, but now how changed the scene !
Condemned with me in plaintive strains to mourn,
The scanty pittance from our offspring torn !
The viper, whom with fostering care I nurst,
Deep in my bosom plants his sting accurst ;
Riots in blood, and heedless of his word,
Pants for the ruin of his sovereign lord.
Nobles ingrate*, upheld by power and pride,
To whom our favours never were denied ;
See to what misery and dire disgrace,
Your perfidy accursed, has brought a royal race :
Bright northern star from Qabul's realms advance,
Imperial Timoor† poize the avenging lance.
On these vile traitors quick destruction pour,
Redress my wrongs, and kingly rights restore ;
Thee too, O Sindiah, illustrious chief,
Who once didst promise to afford relief ;
Thee I invoke, exert thy generous aid,
And o'er their heads high wave the avenging blade,
And ye, O faithful pillars of my state,
By friendship bound, and by my power elate,

---

*The Mogul nobility, who abandoned the king on the approach of the rebels.

† Timoor Shah, king of Qabul, on his father, the Abdallee's last visit to Delhi, was married to a princess of the royal family, which gives his son, Zamaun Shah, a claim to the throne of Hindos

Hasten, O Asuf,* and ye English chiefs†,
Nor blush to sooth an injured monarch's griefs ;
But stay my soul, unworthy rage disown,
Learn to sustain the loss of sight and throne ;
Learn that imperial pride, and star clad power,
Are but the fleeting pageants of an hour ;
In the true crucible of dire distress,
Purged of alloy, thy sorrows soon shall cease ;
What ! though the sun of empire and command,
Shorn of its beams, enlightens not the land ;
Some happier day, a providential care
Again may renovate the falling star ;
Again O king, raise up thy illustrious race,
Cheer thy sad mind, and close thy days in peace."§

* Asuf Al Dowla, Vazir of the empire.

† It is much to be lamented, that the state of politics at Calcutta could not, at that time, admit of government interfering on the occasion—for such was the influence of the British name that had the detachment stationed at Anupshaur, only marched out of their cantonments, the brutal tyrant would have desisted and the king's misfortunes been averted.

§ It may not be amiss to remark, that several MS copies of the above elegy having been circulated throughout India various readings may have occurred. The one here presented, was obtained by the author whilst at Delhi, and therefore appeared to him the most authentic ; but he thinks himself bound to acknowledge he has read a poetic version of the same elegy, which appeared in the European Magazine for May, 1797, said to be written by Captain Symes, from whose researches into the history and antiquities of the interesting kingdom of Ava, the public may expect to derive much useful and instructive information.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED FOR THE PRESENT WORK.

1. SHAH-AULUM Nameh, or a History of the Reign of the Emperor Shah-Aulum, written in the Persian language by Gholaum Ali Khan, a Mogul, formerly in the service of Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaunder Shah, and now Resident at Lukhnow.

2. MS. of Syud Ruzzi Khan, containing the Transactions of the last nine years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.

3. MS. of Munnoo Lall, a Hindu, containing the thirteen first years of the Reign of Shah Aulum.

4. Ousaf-i-Asuf : a Genealogical Account of the reigning Family of Oude—Author unknown.

5. Hudeeka-ul-Akauleem : a Geographical Account of the different Provinces of Hindostaun, written in the Persian language.

6. Captain Salkeld's MS.—Operations of Sindiah and Mohammed Beg Khan Hamdani, written in the Persian language.

THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

Being the history of the Establishment of British Rule in India

BY MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (Retired)

Cloth, Gilt Letters.

2nd Edition. Price Rs. 15.

The "LEADER" of Allahabad says :

"The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that it is a history of India written from a fresh point of view."

* * * *

"NEW INDIA," Edited by Dr. MRS. ANNIE BESANT, says :

"We read them with immense interest and pleasure, for they are well put together and presented in a form that makes the reading delightful. It is of course an extensive history of Modern India, a history of wars, bitterness, oppression, bloodshed, tyranny and hate. An adequate review would take far too much space in a daily paper and one hesitates even to suggest that this is a review, but we would like to call it simply a Book Notice, for that is all that can be attempted in these pages."

* * * *

"This history should prove a most useful work, and it should be read by all alike. We hope that it may have a wide sale in England, especially at this crisis in the history of the world."

* * * *

"We are struck by the very fair way in which the whole has been treated by this author, for in the volumes that have come to our hand there has been no word of condemnation for errors or expression of bitterness for sufferings imposed. It is a fair history of events, sparing the faults of none and expressing admiration where admiration was due and commending actions when those actions were disinterested and done for love of truth, and justice.

Panini Office, Bhuvaneswari Ashrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad.

OTHER WORKS OF

Late Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd.).

1. The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India. Price Rupee One and Annas Eight Only.

2. The Colonisation of India by Europeans, Price Rupees Two Only.

3. History of Education in India under the rule of the East India Company, Price Rupees Two and Annas Eight Only.

4. My Sojourn in England. Price Rupees Two Only.

5. Diabetes Mellitus and and its Dietetic Treatment, Fifteenth edition. Price Rupees Two Only.

6. Culture. Price Rupees Two Only.

7. Indian Medicinal Plants. Price Rupees Twohundred and seventy-five only.

To be had from :

1. Manager, The Panini Office ; Sukumari Ashram 49, Leader Road ; Allahabad ; U. P. ; India

2. R. Chatterjee, Esqr., M.A. ; The Prabasi Press ; 120-2 Upper Circular Road ; Calcutta.

3. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal ; Hornby Road, Bombay.

4. B. G. Paul & Co., 12, Francis Joseph Street. Madras.